

HORÆ BIBLICÆ,  
BEING A  
CONNECTED SERIES  
OF  
MISCELLANEOUS NOTES  
ON THE  
ORIGINAL TEXT, EARLY VERSIONS,  
AND  
PRINTED EDITIONS  
OF THE  
*OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.*

THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

*By CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.*  
*OF LINCOLN'S INN.*

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1799.

Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, si quantum cæteris ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporis; quantum alii tempestivis conviviis, quantum alex, quantum pilæ; tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda, sumpsero:

*Cic. pro Archid.*





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\* \* Some pains have been taken by the Publishers to render this third Edition more correct than the former; this table of Contents, and some trivial additions have been made which are inclosed between [ ].

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## HORÆ BIBLICÆ.

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WITH a view to impress on the memory the result of some miscellaneous reading on different subjects of BIBLICAL LITERATURE, the following notes were committed to paper. It may be found, that they give,

I. Some history of the rise and decline of the Hebrew language, including an account of the Mishna, the Two Gemaras, and the Targums: II. Some account of the Hellenistic language, principally with a view to the Septuagint version of the Bible: under this head, mention will be made of the early versions of the Old Testament, and the Biblical labours of Origen: III. Some observations on the effect produced on the style of the New Testament, 1st, by the Hellenistic idiom of the writers; 2dly, by the Rabbinical doctrines current in Judæa at the time of Christ's appearance, and by the controversies among the sects, into which the learned were then divided; 3dly, by the literary pursuits of the Jews being confined to their religious tenets

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and

and observances; 4thly, by the political subserviency of the Jews to the Romans; 5thly, by their connections and intercourse with the neighbouring nations; and 6thly, by the difference of the dialects, which prevailed among the Jews themselves: IV. Some account, 1st, of the Biblical literature of the middle ages; 2dly, of the industry of the Monks; and 3dly, of the industry of the Jews in copying Hebrew manuscripts: V. Some notion of the Masorah, and the Keri and Ketibh: VI. Some notion of the controversy respecting the nature, antiquity, and utility of the vowel points: VII. Some general remarks,—1st, on the history of the Jews after their return from the Babylonish captivity to the birth of Christ; 2dly, on the persecutions suffered by the Jews; 3dly, on their present state; 4thly, on their religious tenets; 5thly, on the appellations of their doctors and teachers; 6thly, on the Cabala; 7thly, on their writers against the Christian religion; and 8thly, on their principles respecting religious toleration: VIII. Some observations on the nature of the Hebrew manuscripts, and the principal printed editions of the Hebrew Bible; IX. Some account of the principal Greek manuscripts of the New Testament: X. Of the polyglot editions of the New Testament: XI. Of the principal Greek editions of the New Testament: XII. Of the versions of the New Testament into the Romeika, or modern Greek: XIII. Of the oriental versions of the New Testament; XIV. Of the Latin Vulgate:



Vulgate: XV. Of the English translations of the Bible: XVI. And of the division of the Bible into chapters and verses: XVII. Some general observations will be offered on the nature of the various readings of the sacred text, so far as they may be supposed to influence the questions respecting its purity, authenticity, or divine inspiration: XVIII. Mention will then be made of the principal works made use of by the writer, in the course of his enquiries.

## I.

The claim of THE HEBREW LANGUAGE to high antiquity cannot be denied: its pretensions to be the original language of mankind, and to have been the only language in existence before the confusion at Babel, have, by many respectable writers, been thought not inconsiderable. In a general sense it denotes the language used by the descendants of Abraham, in all the variations of their fortune, before and after they became possessed of the promised land, during their captivity in Babylon, to the time of their final dispersion; and from their final dispersion, so far as they retained a peculiar language of their own, to the present time. But it may be more accurately considered, under the three distinct idioms of South Chanaanitic, Aramæan, and Talmudical.

I. 1. It evidently received the appellation of *South Chanaanitic*, from its being the idiom of the inhabitants of the land of Chanaan: and, as no material alteration took place in it, during the long period which elapsed, from Abraham's arrival in Chanaan, till the captivity, it is known, through the whole of this period, by that appellation. Nice observers have professed to find, that it arrived at its perfection in the reign of Solomon, and to remark in it some degree of falling off from that time, and have therefore pronounced his reign to be the golden, and the prophesyings of Ifaiah to be the silver age of the Hebrew Language: but, unless this observation be understood with some qualification, it appears to have more of fancy than of truth. During the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, their language was far from being wholly forgotten by them. On their return, it was greatly their wish to restore it: but their commixture with the natives of the country, where they had been captives, the residence of many of them in the neighbouring nations, their intercourse and habits with the subjects of other kingdoms, and their frequent political connections with the Seleucidan monarchs, introduced into it a multitude of foreign words and foreign idioms. In the progress of time they debased it altogether, and, in a manner, converted it into another language.

I. 2. In

I. 2. In this state, it is known by the appellation of *Aramean*, from *Aram*, one of the sons of *Sem*. His descendants inhabited the Mediterranean region, between the Tigris and Euphrates, and extended north to Armenia, and south to Shinaar, Babylon, and Chaldæa. To the east were the descendants of Ashur, another of the sons of Sem, called the Assyrians; their chief city stood upon the Tigris, and was called Ninive; beyond them were the people of Media. There is reason to suppose that the descendants of Aram never extended themselves beyond the Tigris. But they passed the Euphrates, west, and occupied the territory known to us by the name of Syria. Aram Zobah and some other places were denominated from them. In consequence of the circumstances above adverted to, the Aramæan language became, after the captivity, the general language of Palestine. It branched into two dialects, the Chaldee, or East Aramæan, and the Syriac, or West Aramæan. The East Aramæan was spoken at Jerusalem and Judæa; the West, in the Gallilæa Gentium. The learned, however, still cultivated the study of the old Hebrew or South Chanaanitic, and it was used in the service of the synagogue. Thus it continued the language of literature and religion, but the language of common discourse was the Aramæan. That, therefore, was the language of the Jews, at the time of the birth of Christ; it was spoken by him, in his familiar instructions and conversations; and, with  
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some variation, it continued the language of Judæa till the final dispersion of the Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem.

I. 3. Notwithstanding the destruction of that city, a large portion of the Jews remained, or established themselves, in Judea. By degrees they formed themselves into a regular system of government, or rather subordination, connected with the various bodies of Jews, dispersed throughout the world. They were divided into the Western and Eastern Jews. The Western were those who inhabited Egypt, Judæa, Italy, and other parts of the Roman empire; the Eastern were those who were settled in Babylon, Chaldæa, and Persia. The head of the Western Jews was known by the name of Patriarch; the head of the Eastern Jews was called, Prince of the Captivity. The office of Patriarch was abolished by the Imperial laws, about the year 429: from which time the Western Jews were solely under the rule of the chiefs of their synagogues, whom they called primates. The princes of the captivity had a longer and more splendid sway, they resided at Babylon or Bagdad, and exercised their authority over all the Jews who were established there, or in the adjacent country, or in Assyria, Chaldæa, or Parthia. They subsisted as late as the twelfth century. In the midst of their depression and calamities, the Jews were attentive, in some measure, to their religion and language. With the permission



permission of the Romans, they established academies. The most famous were those of Jabne and Tiberias.

About the reign of Antoninus Pius, Rabbi Jehuda Hakadosh published a collection of Jewish traditions, called the *Mishna*, the style of which seems to shew, that their attempts to restore their language had not been unsuccessful. Surenhusius published the original, with a Latin version, and the commentaries of Maimonides and Bartenora, in six volumes folio, at Amsterdam, 1698—1703. It has been translated into German by Rabe; his translation was published at Onolzbach, in 1760—1763, in six volumes quarto.

As a supplement to this, the first *Gemara* was written, for the use of the Jews of Judæa, whence it is called the *Gemara* of Jerusalem. The style of it is so abrupt and barbarous, that the most profound Hebraists almost confess their inability to understand it. After the death of Antoninus Pius, a fresh persecution broke out against them, and they were expelled from their academies within the Roman empire. The chief part of them fled to Babylon, and the neighbouring countries; and there, about the fifth century, they published what is called the Second or Babylonish *Gemara*, in which there is less of barbarism and obscurity, than in the former. A translation of it was begun in Germany by Rabe. The *Mishna* and *Gemara* form what is called

called the *Talmud*, and the idiom of this collection is called the *Talmudical*. From there being two Gemaras, there are two Talmuds, the Jerusalem and Babylonish: the former consists of the Mishna and Jerusalem Gemara; the latter, of the Mishna and Babylonish Gemara. The former is preferred by the Christians, as containing fewer fables and trifles; the latter is preferred by the Jews, as descending most into particulars. When they mention the Talmud, generally, they understand by it, the Babylonish Talmud.

The Talmudical language was used by many of their writers. About the year 1038 the Jews were expelled from Babylon. Some of the most learned of them passed into Africa, and thence into Spain. Great bodies of them settled in that kingdom. They assisted the Saracens in their conquest of it. Upon that event, an intimate connection took place between the disciples of Moses and the disciples of Mahomet. It was cemented by their common hatred of the Christians, and subsisted till their common expulsion. This is one of the most brilliant epochas of Jewish literature, from the time of the destruction of Jerusalem. Even in the darkest ages of their history, they cultivated their language with assiduity, and were never without skilful grammarians, or subtle interpreters of Holy Writ. But, speaking generally, it was only during their union with the Saracens in Spain, and in the flourishing ages of the Caliphs  
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of Bagdad, that they ventured into general literature, or used, in their writings, a foreign, and consequently in their conceptions, a profane language.

In the literature of the Jews, the *Targums* fill a considerable space. They are paraphrases, which, at different times, and by different hands, have been made, in the Chaldee language, of all the Hebrew parts of the Old Testament. They have various degrees of merit. What is called the Targum of Onkelos is confined to the Pentateuch, and is far better executed than any of the others. There are strong grounds for supposing, that all the Targums are subsequent to the Version of the Seventy.

## II.

The only instance, in which, before the birth of Christ, the Jews appear to have used a profane language, was in the translation of the Bible made by the Seventy.

II. 1. With respect to the *Style*: It has been observed, that the policy of the Romans to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the latin language, was attended with greater success in their western, than in their eastern conquests; so that while the language of Rome was readily adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Pannonia, the Greeks

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preserved their language; and it continued to be spoken in their various colonies, from the Hadriatic to the Euphrates and the Nile, and in the numerous cities in Asia and Egypt, founded by the Macedonian kings. All of them abounded with Jews. They were known by the name of Grecian or Hellenistic Jews, from the application which the Jews made of the term Hellenistic, to describe them as residing in Grecian cities, and speaking the Greek language. Alexandria, upon many accounts, was, in regard to them, the capital of the countries they inhabited. By living among the Greeks, they naturally acquired their language; but they incorporated into it numberless words and phrases of their own. This must always be the case where foreigners acquire a language. It was so in a particular manner with the Jews, as they acquired the Greek language rather by practice than grammar, and as they did not live promiscuously among the natives, but separately in large communities, among themselves. Besides, they had a more than common reverence for the sacred book. It comprised all their religion, all their morality, all their history, all their politics, and whatever was most excellent of their poetry. It may, therefore, be said to have contained all their language and its phrases. Unavoidably they would be led to adopt its idiom, even in their ordinary discourse, and to introduce it into their writings. The consequence was, that, always bearing in their minds the idiom of their mother tongue, they moulded the

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the Greek words into Hebraic phrases, and sometimes even used words, which resembled certain Hebrew terms in their sound, in an Hebraic sense. The effect of this was the more striking, as no languages are more dissimilar than the Hebrew and the Greek; the copiousness and variety of the latter forming a strong contrast to the simplicity and penury of the former. Hence, when the Jews came to translate the Sacred Writings into Greek, their version carried, in every part of it, the strongest tincture of their native idiom: so that, though the words were Greek, the phraseology was every where Hebrew. This was greatly increased by the scrupulous, not to say superstitious, attachment of the Jews to the Holy Writings, which led them to translate them in the most servile manner. To this must be added, that the whole tenor of the Holy Writings relates to facts and circumstances peculiar, in many respects, to the chosen people. Besides,—the duties which they inculcate, and the sentiments they contain or raise, were unknown to the writers of Greece. In expressing them, therefore, the translators were often at a loss; and then, for want of a corresponding or equivalent word to convey their author's meaning fully, they were constrained to do the best they could by approximation. The letter written by the German Jews, residing in England, to their foreign brethren, recommending Doctor Kennicott to their protection and assistance in his Biblical pursuits (published

by him in his \* *Dissertatio Generalis*), is a curious specimen of the language of a Jew, when he attempts to express modern, and, in respect to him, foreign ideas, in the Hebrew language. One of the most striking peculiarities in the Greek Testament is, the total absence of the dual number. Mr. Marsh's observations on this singular circumstance (see his note 67, to ch. 4. § 5. of Michaelis) deserve great consideration.

II. 2. With respect to the *History of the Septuagint*, there scarcely is a subject of literature upon which more has been written, or of which less, with any degree of certainty, is known. The popular account of its being made in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at the suggestion of Aristæas, and under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus, by seventy or seventy-two Jews, shut up in cells, appears to be generally exploded. The prevailing opinion is, that it was made at Alexandria, at different times, and by different interpreters; but that all of them were Jews. The Pentateuch, the book of Job, and the Proverbs, are the parts of the version most admired. The principal editions are, Aldus's edition, published in 1518; the Vatican, published in 1587; Mr. Grabe's, printed at Oxford in 1707, from the famous Alexandrine Manuscript; and Professor Bretinger's, published at Zurich,

\* [A valuable edition of this work, with many additions, was published by Bruns, in 8vo. Brunswick 1783.]

in Switzerland, in 1730—1732, in four volumes quarto. The last edition is particularly valuable, because it not only contains the text of Grabe's edition, or the Alexandrine Manuscript, but because, in the margin at the bottom of the page, it has the principal variations of the Roman edition of 1587, or the Vatican Manuscript. To these editions should be added, the Complutensian, published in 1515. Dr. Owen says, that it adheres to no particular copy; but that, taking out of all, the readings which came nearest to the Hebrew text, it may be looked upon rather as a new translation, than the antient Greek version of the Seventy. A splendid edition of the Septuagint is now preparing at Oxford, under the care of Dr. Holmes. The version of the Septuagint is the version generally cited by Christ, and by the apostles and fathers. It has always been of the highest authority in the church of Rome: but, in the middle ages, it was little known, and hardly ever used. It is the authentic version of the Greek church; the early Latin versions were generally translations from it. In many instances it differs materially from the Hebrew. In the Pentateuch, the version of the Seventy approaches nearer to the Samaritan, than to the Hebrew text. The difference between it and the Hebrew has not yet been accounted for on satisfactory grounds. At first, it was unfavourably received by the Jews. But the number of Hellenistic Jews increasing, and a Greek translation of the Sacred Writings being necessary for them,

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it came into use among them, and was sometimes used in the Synagogues in Judæa. The antient fathers generally referring to it in their controversies with the Jews, it grew out of favour with them: and some of the Talmudists have spoken of it in the strongest terms of reprobation. They declare, that the day in which it was made, was as fatal to Israel as that of the golden calf: that, in consequence of it, the earth was for three days covered with darkness; and an annual fast, on the 8th of December, was established.

II. 3. Connected with the history of the Septuagint is, *the History of the other Versions made of the Old Testament, from the Hebrew into Greek, in the early ages of Christianity, and the Biblical labours of Origen.* The first of these versions was made by *Aquila*, who from a Christian, became a Jew, and was accused of designedly mistranslating those passages of the Old Testament, which establish the divine mission and character of Christ.—He published two distinct translations; the first was free; the last and most in use, servile. He was followed by *Symmachus*, whose translation is supposed to have been clear and elegant; and by *Theodotion*, whose translation was thought to be more liberal than the second of Aquila, but more strict than the version of Symmachus. A fifth, a sixth, and a seventh version of some parts of the Old Testament were made; the authors of them are unknown.

II. 4. *The*



II. 4. *The Biblical labours of Origen* are known under the appellation of his Tetraples, Hexaples, Octaples, and Enneaples. The Tetraples contained, in four columns, the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy, and Theodotion. Having discovered two other versions, he added these to the Tetraples. They constituted together the Hexaples. By prefixing to them the Hebrew text, and transcribing it, in a separate column, in Greek letters, he increased them to Octaples. He afterwards added to them a separate version of the Psalms. With that they are called his Enneaples. So that, the first column contained the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters; the second, the Hebrew in Greek letters; the third, the version of Aquila: the fourth the version of Symmachus; the fifth, the Greek text of the Septuagint; the sixth, the version of Theodotion; the seventh, his fifth Greek edition; the eighth, his sixth Greek edition; the ninth, his last version of the Psalms.

In all his labours, he appears to have directed his attention principally to the Septuagint, with a view to make it conform to the Hebrew text. For this purpose, leaving the text itself of the Septuagint untouched, he shewed, by certain marks, the difference between it and the Hebrew text. His admirers and followers are accused of a want of a similar respect for the text of the Septuagint; they are charged with altering the text itself, to make it conform to the Hebrew. If the charge be founded, there may be a  
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wide difference between the present and the original text of the Septuagint; and the discovery of a Manuscript anterior to the time of Origen, or bearing evident marks of expressing the original text, would be an invaluable acquisition.

### III.

III. 1. This leads to THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Most probably all of them were originally written in Greek except the Gospel of St. Mathew, and the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews. The *Style* of the writers has a considerable affinity with that of the Septuagint version; but it is much more free from Hebraisms, and approaches somewhat nearer to the Greek idiom: in each, however, the Hebrew phraseology is discernible. To mention some particulars,—in each, the same use is made of the double substantive, to supply the Jewish want of adjectives, as “kingdom and glory” to express a “glorious kingdom;” “mouth and wisdom” to express a “wise discourse.” In each the words, “of God,” are used to denote the superlative degree, in comparison; as, “the mountains of God” and “the cedars of God” for “very high mountains” and “very high cedars.” In each, the difficulty, and on many occasions, the impracticability of accommodating the conjugations of the Hebrew language to the Greek modes and voices, and the Hebrew connectives to the Greek particles and prepositions, appear. But, besides a peculiarity of style, from  
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the perpetual recurrence of Jewish phraseology, the New Testament has, in common with the Old, the leading features of the oriental style of instruction,—short aphoristic sentences, and frequent use of allegory and parable. In each, extreme simplicity of phrase is joined, throughout, to extreme boldness and pomp of imagery; and both are rendered the more striking by their proximity. This is frequently seen in the most familiar discourses recorded of Christ by the Evangelists. Even in the Sermon on the Mount, the subject and the simile are often united in a manner which nations of the West have never employed out of poetry. In these, and in many other instances, a considerable degree of similitude is discoverable between the Greek of the Septuagint, and the Greek of the New Testament: in some respects, however, the Greek of the New Testament has strong peculiarities.

III. 2. One of the most striking of these was a consequence of the *Rabbinical doctrines* and disputes, which, at the time of Christ's mission, prevailed in Judæa. Notwithstanding the unsocial temper and habits of the Jews, and their decided aversion from intercommunity with strangers, it was impossible that such numbers of them should inhabit the cities of Greece, without imbibing something of the literary and inquisitive spirit of that people. The consequence was, that they gave into a variety of disputes. The principal sects, into which they were divided, were those

of the *Pharisees* and the *Sadducees*. The former had subsisted one hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ: they gave too much to tradition, and deluged the plain simplicity of the Mosaic law in a multitude of scriptural glosses and comments. They affected great austerity of morals, and practised numberless superstitions. They held the chief offices in church and state, and had the greatest influence over the common people. The Sadducees were a more ancient sect: they were distinguished by their adherence to the word of the Sacred Writings, interpreting it always in its most literal sense, and rejecting, with contempt, all traditionary reasonings and observances. But at the same time that they professed a strict, not to say a bigoted, adherence to the Law of Moses, they held, by a strange contradiction, the loosest opinions. They denied a future state, and, as far as is consistent with any belief in the Holy Writings, were Epicureans both in practice and theory. In opposition to the Pharisees, who inclined to fatalism, they maintained the freedom of the human will. They avoided interfering in public concerns, and were few in number, but of the highest quality. The *Scribes* had originally their name from transcribing, or making copies of the Law. By degrees they became the expounders of it. They may be considered as the public teachers of the Jewish theology. Like all others, who held offices, or interfered in public concerns, they were under the guidance, and obliged



liged to profess the principles and imitate the manners, of the Pharisees. The *Herodians* were rather a political than a religious sect. Herod, whether an Idumæan by birth, or descended, as many suppose, from one of the Jewish families, who returned from the Babylonish captivity, unquestionably belonged to a family which had long professed the Jewish religion, and was ranked among the tribe of Judah. But he seems to have had neither external reverence, nor internal respect, for the religious institutions of his country. He built temples in the Grecian taste; erected statues for idolatrous worship; adopted, in his ordinary habits of life, Roman manners and Roman usages; and, in his public capacity, was absolutely devoted and subservient to Roman politics. This brought upon him the hatred of the Pharisees, who were zealously attached to the independence of their country, and bore the Roman yoke with the utmost indignation. But many of the Jews, particularly of the Sadducees, embraced his politics, and, on that account, received from their countrymen the name of Herodians; an appellation, in the general notion of the Jews, of the highest contumely. Such was the state of the religious sects among the Jews at the time of the birth of our Saviour. The Rabbins, or the teachers of each sect, defended their tenets with the greatest zeal and pertinacity.

III. 3. All of them however agreed in thinking their religious tenets and observances were the only objects worthy of their attention. It followed, that their literary controversies, instead of embracing, like those of the philosophical sects of the Pagans, the wide circle of general literature, *were directed and confined to their religion and religious institutions*, and were exhausted in questions and discussions immediately, or remotely, referrible to those objects. They were sometimes striking by their refinement and abstruseness, but were often idle and visionary. These religious contentions necessarily produced a considerable effect on the language of the Jews; and, whether they expressed themselves in Greek or in Hebrew, led them to adopt new terms and expressions. These, which may be called Rabbinisms, frequently occur in the New Testament.

III. 4. Another peculiarity of the language of the New Testament, is its *occasional Latinism*. This was originally owing to their political subserviency to the Romans. The celebrated prophecy of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 10.) had foretold “that the sceptre should not depart from Judah, nor  
“ a lawgiver from between his feet, until the Shiloh  
“ should come.” Both ancient and modern Jews agree, that the Messiah was designed by the Shiloh. When the Assyrian monarch led the ten tribes of Israel into captivity, the sceptre departed from *them*, and the lawgiver from  
*their*

*their feet.* But when the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were carried captives to Babylon, they were permitted to live as a distinct people, under their own rulers and governors: and we find, that Cyrus ordered the vessels of the temple to be delivered to the Prince of Judah; 1 Esdras ii. 10. Thus the sceptre and the lawgiver were preserved to Judah, and remained to him, till Judea was reduced into a province by the Romans. The first interference of the Romans, as conquerors, in the affairs of Judæa, was in consequence of their conquest of Syria. From that time they appointed the High Priests. Still, though they changed the order of succession at their pleasure, they uniformly confined their choice to one of the sacerdotal family. In other respects they left the Jews in the full possession, both of their civil and ecclesiastical government, till the death of Archelaus, the immediate successor of Herod. The year after his death, they reduced Judæa into a Roman province. Then it was, that the power of life and death was taken from the Jews, and justice was thenceforth administered in the name and by the laws of Rome. Then, therefore, but not till then, the sceptre departed from *Judah*, and the lawgiver from *his feet*. It may easily be conceived what effect the overpowering influence and dominion of Rome would have, both on the written, and the spoken language of Judæa.

III. 5. The New Testament abounds also with expressions introduced into it, in consequence of the unavoidable *intercourse of the Jews with their Asiatic, Syrian, and Arabian neighbours*. It is observable, that here, as in most instances where Asia is spoken of, with a reference to the New Testament, the word denotes a very small part of the territory generally included under that denomination. It denotes, in its largest sense, the continent of the world, on the eastern front of Europe; in a less large sense it denotes the great peninsula between the Pontus Euxinus, or the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean; in a more confined sense, it denotes the pro-consular Asia, or the Asia Propria of Ptolemy, comprising Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Mysia, Phrygia, and the proconsular Hellespont. But, in the New Testament, it generally denotes a still narrower tract of country; that part only of proconsular Asia, which comprises the country of Ephesus and Lydia. In many parts of this country the Jews settled; and the industry of commentators has traced in some parts of the Epistles of St. Paul, certain marks of the Cilician dialect. In other instances they have traced the language of Persia, Arabia, and particularly of Syria.

III. 6. It should also be observed, that, *among the Jews themselves, there was a considerable difference of dialect*. The first division of the country was that by Joshua, of the whole



whole land of Canaan among the twelve tribes. To this a total end was put, by the destruction of the ten tribes by Salmanasar, and of the two remaining tribes by Nebuchadnezzar. After the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, and at least as early as their government under the Asmonæan princes, the nation was distinguished by a fourfold distinction. The first was Judæa, including Idumæa; the second was Samaria; the third was Galilæa, distinguished into the Galilæa Superior, or the parts bordering on Phœnicia and Syria, and the Galilæa Inferior, comprising Tiberias, Nazareth, Caphernaum, the Itabyrian Mountain, and the Decapolis; the fourth was Peræa, which comprised, with some increase, the portion of the promised Land, occupied by the tribes of Ruben and Gad. All of them were under the government of Herod the Great. Upon his death, Augustus allotted Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria, to his son Archelaus, under the title of Ethnarch; Galilæa and Peræa, to Herod Antipas, another of his sons, under the title of Tetrarch; and Ituræa, and Trachonitis, and the greatest part of the country beyond the Jordan, to Philip his other son, under the same title. Some time afterwards, Archelaus and Herod Antipas were banished, and the territories in their governments were reduced into a Roman province. On the death of Philip, the territory in his government was added to the proconsulate of Syria. Each of these divisions had its

own

own provincial dialect. The speech of Peter, when Christ appeared before the tribunal of Caiaphas, betrayed him to be a Galilæan. But a difference of dialect was the slightest of the many points of difference between the *Samaritans* and the general body of the Jews. They were of a different origin; the Samaritans being a mixed body of people, chiefly Cuthites, but all of heathenish extraction, sent by the king of Assyria to repopulate the kingdom of the ten tribes, whom he had carried into banishment. Some time after their arrival in the land of Israel, they embraced the worship of the true God, and built a temple to his honour on mount Gerizim, asserting against the Jews, that it was the place consecrated by God himself to his worship. They admitted the divine authority of the Pentateuch but rejected the other books of the Old Testament.—The Samaritan Pentateuch has been a subject of much discussion. Care must be taken to distinguish between the Pentateuch in the Hebrew language, but in the letters of the Samaritan alphabet, and the version of the Pentateuch in the Samaritan language. One of the most important differences between the Samaritan and the Hebrew text, respects the duration of the period between the deluge and the birth of Abraham. The Samaritan text makes it longer by some centuries than the Hebrew text; and the Septuagint makes it longer by some centuries than the Samaritan. It is observable, that, in her authentic translation of the Latin Vulgate,

Vulgate, the Roman Catholic Church follows the computation expressed in the Hebrew text; and in her Martyrology, follows that of the seventy\*.

It is supposed, that the Samaritans worshipped several heathen deities in conjunction with the true God. Religious hatred seems never to have been carried further than it was between the Jews and the Samaritans.—Such was the general state of the Jews, as far as it may be supposed to have influenced their language at the time of the arrival of Christ. Whatever influence it had on their language when they expressed themselves in Hebrew, the same, and not in a less degree, it had on it, when they expressed themselves in Greek.

#### IV.

The Biblical labours of Origen and St. Jerom are well known, and are mentioned in these observations. FROM THE DEATH OF ST. JEROM, TO THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS UNDER THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO THE Xth, a period of about one thousand years, now comes under consideration.

IV. 1. The comparatively *low state of literature, and of the arts and sciences, during this middle age*, must be acknow-

\* See an excellent Dissertation, by Father Tournemine, *De Annis Patriarcharum*, at the end of his edition of Menochius. [2 vols. fol. Paris, 1719.]

ledged; but justice claims our gratitude to the venerable body of men, who strove against the barbarism of the times, and to whose exertions we entirely owe all the precious remains of sacred or profane antiquity, which survived that calamitous æra. For whatever has been preserved to us of the writers of Greece or Rome; for all we know of the language of those invaluable writers; for all the monuments of our holy religion; for the sacred writings which contain the word of God; and for the traditions of the wise and good respecting it, we are almost wholly indebted, under providence, to the zeal and exertions of the priests and monks of the church of Rome, during this middle age. If, during this period, there were a decay of taste and learning, it is wholly to be ascribed to the general ruin and devastation, brought on the Christian world, by the inroads and conquests of the Barbarians, and the other events, which were the causes, or the consequences, of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Besides, while we admit and lament, we should not exaggerate, the literary degradation of the times we speak of. Biblical literature, the immediate subject of the present inquiry, was by no means entirely neglected. Dr. Hody, in his most learned *Historia Scholastica Hebraici Textus Versionumque Græcæ et Latine Vulgatæ*, places this circumstance beyond the reach of controversy. He proves, that there never was a time, even in the darkest ages, when the study of the original



original language of the Holy Writings was wholly neglected. In England alone, the works of Venerable Bede, Holy Robert of Lincoln, and Roger Bacon, shew how greatly it was prized and pursued there.

IV. 2. Copies of works were not then multiplied, at the party's will, by the instantaneous operation of the press. They were transcribed by the labour of individuals, a task of infinite pains and perseverance, and to which (for gain was out of the question) nothing but the conscientious and unwearied *industry of a religious copyist* was equal. To this Gerhardus Tychsen, professor of philosophy and oriental literature, formerly at Butzow, now at Rostock (the two Universities of Butzow and Rostock being united), in his *Tentamen de variis Codicum Hebræorum Veteris Testamenti MSS., Rostockii, 1772*, bears an ample testimony. He observes, that all manuscripts of the Masorah, with figures of dragons, sphinxes, bears, hogs, or any other of the unclean animals; all manuscripts of the Testament, with the Vulgate translation, or corrected to it, or corrected to the Septuagint version; all manuscripts, not written with black ink, or in which there are words written in golden letters, or where the words or the margin are illuminated; and all manuscripts, where the word Adonai is written instead of the word Jehovah, were written by Christians, and not by Jews. "I am sensible," says he, that it is the general opinion,

“ that the study of the fine arts was buried during the mid-  
“ dle ages. It is not, however, less certain, that, while  
“ during many ages, literature was crushed every where  
“ else, she found a refuge in monasteries. From unexcep-  
“ tionable evidence, it may be shewn, that, while some of  
“ the monks applied themselves to the study of divinity,  
“ medicine, or dialectic, others made themselves thoroughly  
“ acquainted with the Hebrew language, in order to con-  
“ found the Jews, in their disputes with them, by produc-  
“ ing the original text: others (of whom some were pro-  
“ felytes from the Jewish religion) attained the highest skill  
“ in calligraphy, and copied Hebrew manuscripts.” “ I  
“ cannot deny,” he says, in another part of his work,  
“ that in Spain, formerly the paradise and nursery of monks,  
“ calligraphy arrived at its summit of excellence, particu-  
“ larly in monasteries. The Jews, with whom Spain at  
“ that time abounded, appear to have learnt it from them.  
“ In proof of this assertion, I may appeal to some Hebrew  
“ manuscripts, which I myself have seen, where the let-  
“ ters throughout are so equal, that the whole has the ap-  
“ pearance of print. Frequently, after reflecting on this  
“ singular circumstance, I have been inclined to think,  
“ that the monks, who cultivated the study of calligraphy  
“ with great eagerness, had the forms of all the letters of  
“ the alphabet, impressed into or engraved out of thin plates;  
“ that whole pages or columns of these plates were placed  
“ under

“ under the parchment or vellum, on which it was intended to write, so that, by drawing a pencil over them, the monks were able to produce this surprising equality of letters; or, it may have been that the shapes or forms of the letters were first imprinted upon the parchment or vellum, and afterwards filled up.” Such is the acknowledged merit of the monks as transcribers of the Holy Writings.

IV. 3. *The Jews bestowed on the copies made by them, even an excess of care.* It has been a constant rule with them, that, whatever is considered as corrupt, shall never be used, but shall be burnt, or otherwise destroyed. A book of the law, wanting but one letter, with one letter too much, or with an error in one single letter, written with any thing but ink, or written on parchment made of the hide of an unclean animal, or on parchment not purposely prepared for that use, or prepared by any but an Israelite, or on skins of parchment tied together by unclean strings, shall be holden to be corrupt: that no word shall be written, without a line first drawn on the parchment; no word written by heart, or without having been first pronounced orally by the writer: that, before he writes the name of God, he shall wash his pen; that no letter shall be joined to another; and that, if the blank parchment cannot be seen all around each letter, the roll shall be corrupt. There are settled rules for the

the length and breadth of each sheet, and for the space to be left between each letter, each word, and each section. These Maimonides mentions, as some of the principal rules to be observed in copying the sacred rolls. Even to this day, it is an obligation on the persons who copy the Sacred Writings, for the use of the Synagogue, to observe them. Those who have not seen the rolls, used in the Synagogues, can have no conception of the exquisite beauty, correctness, and equality of the writing.

## V.

But the attention of the Jews was by no means confined to the writing of the copies of the Holy Word; they made almost incredible exertions to preserve the GENUINENESS AND INTEGRITY OF THE TEXT.

V. 1. This produced what has been termed the *Masorah*, the most stupendous monument in the whole history of literature, of minute and persevering labour. The persons who were employed in it, and who afterwards received from it the name of Masorites, were some Jewish literati, who flourished after the commencement of the Christian æra. With a reverential, not to say superstitious, attention, of which history does not furnish an instance, to be urged in comparison with it, they counted all the verses, words



words, and letters, of all the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, and of each of those twenty-four books, and of every section of each book, and of all its subdivisions. "The matter of the *Massora*," says Mr. Lewis, in his *Origines Hebrææ*, vol. iv. p. 156. "consists in critical remarks upon the verses, words, letters, and vowel points of the Hebrew text. The Massorets were the first who distinguished the books and sections of books into verses, and marked the number of the verses, and of the words and letters in each verse; the verses, where they thought there was something forgot; the words, which they believed to be changed; the letters, which they thought superfluous; the repetitions of the same verses; the different reading the words which are redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found in the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; the number of words that are printed above; which letters are pronounced, and which are turned upside down; and such as hang perpendicular; and took the number of each: it was they, in short, who invented the vowel points, the accents, and made divers critical remarks upon the punctuation, and abundance of other things of equal importance.

" A great

“ A great part of the labour of these Jewish Doctors  
 “ consisted in counting the letters of the Hebrew text;  
 “ and the letter Nun in the word Gehon, is in the Talmud  
 “ observed to be in the very middle of the Pentateuch.  
 “ Father Simon gives an account of a manuscript copy,  
 “ which he saw, where that part of the Massora that be-  
 “ longed to the letters, was to this purpose. “ There are  
 “ twelve parscioths, or great sections, in Genesis: there  
 “ are forty-three of those which are called sedarim, or  
 “ orders: there are one thousand five hundred and thirty-  
 “ four verses, twenty thousand seven hundred and thirteen  
 “ words, seventy-eight thousand one hundred letters; and  
 “ the midst of the book consists in these words, Ve al  
 “ harbeka tihieh, in chap. xxvii. ver. 40. There are  
 “ five points (these are points made on the top of some  
 “ letters mentioned by St. Jerom). Exodus has eleven  
 “ parscioths, thirty-three sedarim, and one thousand two  
 “ hundred and nine verses, [sixteen thousand five hun-  
 “ dred and thirteen words,] sixty-three thousand four hun-  
 “ dred and sixty-seven letters; and these words, Elohim  
 “ lo tekallel, in chap. xxii. ver. 27. are in the very mid-  
 “ dle of this book. There are in Leviticus ten par-  
 “ scioths, twenty-five sedarim, eight hundred and fifty-  
 “ nine verses, eleven thousand nine hundred and two  
 “ words, forty-four thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine  
 “ letters; and these words, Vehannogia bibesar, in chap.  
 “ xv. ver. 7. are the middle words. There are in Num-  
 “ bers

“ bers ten parsciots, thirty-three sedarim, one thousand  
 “ two hundred and eighty-eight verses, sixteen thousand  
 “ seven hundred and seven words, sixty-two thousand five  
 “ hundred and twenty-nine letters; and these words, Ve  
 “ haia-is asher ebehar, in chap. xvii. ver. 20. are the mid-  
 “ dle words. There are in Deuteronomy ten parscioths,  
 “ thirty-one sedarim, nine hundred and fifty-five verses,  
 “ sixteen thousand three hundred and ninety-four words,  
 “ fifty-four thousand eight hundred and ninety-two letters;  
 “ and the middle words of this book are, Ve ascita alpi  
 “ hadavar, in chap. xvii. ver. 10.”

Such is the celebrated Masorah of the Jews. Originally  
 it did not accompany the text. Afterwards the greatest  
 part of it was written in the margin. To bring it into  
 the margin, it was necessary to abridge the work itself.  
 This abridgement was called the *Masorah Parva*. Be-  
 ing found too short, a more copious abridgement of it  
 was inserted. This, in contradiction to the other Maso-  
 rah, was called the *Masorah Magna*. The omitted parts  
 were added at the end of the text, and this was called the  
*Masorah Finalis*,

V. 2. In the Jewish manuscripts and printed editions,  
 a word is often found with a circle annexed to it, or with  
 an asterisk over it, and a word written in the margin of

the same line. The former is called the *Kethibb*, the latter the *Keri*. In these, much mystery has been discovered by the Masorites. Some have supposed them coeval with the text; and that they were communicated, verbally, by Moses himself: so that he instructed the people generally, and the Levites, his own people, in particular, that the word he had written in such a manner, should be understood in such another manner, and communicated his reasons for it. This, they say, came by oral tradition to the Masorites, who committed it to writing. The prevailing opinion is, that they are partly various readings, collected from the time of Eldras, and partly critical observations, or, as they have been called, insinuations, of the Masorites, to substitute proper or regular for improper and irregular, and sometimes decent for indecent expressions, in the text. It is observable, that none of them occur in the prophecy of Malachi.

## VI.

The next care of the Jews was to ascertain and fix the pronunciation. With this view they invented the *Vowel Points*. To understand this, it may be proper to observe, that every language necessarily consists of those sounds, which are produced by the mere act of opening the mouth, and which are, therefore, called vowels; and of those, which



which are produced, both by opening the mouth, and by particular application of its three principal organs, the lips, the teeth, and the tongue; and which, from the joint operation necessary to produce them, are called consonants. In most languages, the marks or signs, made use of in writing, to denote the vowel sounds, do not exceed five. But each of these is susceptible of the different inflections of the grave, the slender, and the close. Even those require a still further subdivision. Now the natural, or, as they may be termed, the original sounds of the vowels, may be taught by precept; but their further modes, or at least the application of those modes, can only be acquired by practice. The consequence has been, that, in every language, the marks or signs used to denote the vowel sounds, by no means reach all their inflections, or shew their particular application. The object of the vowel points, was to fix a written symbol of every sound, which the Hebrew vowels assumed in pronunciation, and to ascertain the particular sound, which each vowel should have in the syllable or place where it was used; so that a reader might find the exact sound by his eye, without any resort to usage, or any necessity for further instruction, than what a complete knowledge of the vowel points furnished. In the Hebrew alphabet, the vowel characters were but three, the Aleph, the Vau, and the Jod, corresponding to the A, the U, and the I, of the Romans. These, from the assistance they gave

to the enunciation of a vast variety of words, were called the *matres lectionis*, or the parents of reading. But they sufficed to denote a very small number only, of the many vowel sounds. Besides,—there are many words in Hebrew, which consist entirely of consonants; and of which, therefore, without the assistance of vowels, there could be no enunciation. To remedy this inconvenience, the Masorites invented the vowel points. They first settled the sounds of each of the *matres lectionis*, and laid down general rules to fix the positions, where they should be founded, and where they should be silent. They then appropriated to their purpose two symbols, the point and the strait line. These they multiplied and combined, both separately and together, into a variety of forms. To each of those forms they affixed a particular vowel sound. Thus, leaving nothing to be acquired by use, or even by oral instruction (except as far as it extended to the doctrines of the vowel points), they established a corresponding and appropriate sign for all the vowel sounds in the Hebrew language, and all their inflections and modifications. At first view, it must be thought, that the effect of the Masorah in preserving the integrity of the text of the Hebrew, and the effect of the vowel points in ascertaining and fixing its pronunciation, must have been very great. But several writers of great Biblical name have absolutely and explicitly denied their utility. They assert both to be a modern invention; that the Masorah has only served

served to perpetuate the corruptions and imperfections of the text; and that the application of the vowel points to the pronunciation of the language, is a work of useless labour, and involves the learner in a maze of perplexing and disheartening difficulty. The Jews themselves have never admitted the vowel points into the rolls, or manuscripts used for religious worship, in their Synagogues; and some of their ablest and most intelligent writers have joined in the opinion, that they are of modern invention, and that, so far from facilitating, they perplex and increase the difficulty of the pronunciation of the Hebrew. Few literary controversies have been agitated with more learning, or greater warmth. Capellus was first in time, and certainly among the first in learning and ability, who contested the antiquity and utility of the Masorah, and the vowel points: they had strenuous defenders in the two Buxtorfs. In the opinion of many writers of the first eminence (among whom are reckoned Houbigant, L'Advocat, the late Bishop Lowth, Dr. Kennicott, and Dr. Geddes), the victory is decided in favour of Capellus. Still, however, some writers of respectability are strenuous advocates in their favour. The rejection of the vowel points made it necessary to substitute something of equal power in their room. Here Capellus was at a loss. But some time after the beginning of the present century, Monsieur Masclef, a Canon of Amiens, found a complete substitute for them. He considered the  
Aleph,

Aleph, He, Vau, Jod, Heth, and Ain, to be the original Hebrew vowels. These he directed to be pronounced, wherever they occurred: and, when two or more consonants followed, without any of these supposed vowel letters, he directed, that, after each of the consonants, that vowel should be sounded, which is its auxiliary sound in the alphabet; as an E after a Beth; an I after a Ghimel; an U after a Nun; and an A after a Thau. Modern writers have improved on this system, by supposing the Ain of the Hebrew alphabet to correspond to the Roman O. This makes the number of Hebrew vowels complete. To explain the two systems more clearly, the following English characters, supplied with Hebrew points, as below,

Gv̄ s, ths̄ d̄ r̄ dl̄ brd̄,

render, as nearly as the sounds of the two languages admit, the petition in our Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day  
"our daily bread." The same letters, read after the Mascelean system, would be pronounced, Give sa thas da re dala bered. It must be admitted, that, if the pronunciation of the Hebrew, according to the vowel points, be the right pronunciation, the pronunciation of them, according to the Mascelean system, is miserably defective. But it is absolutely denied, by the advocates for the Mascelean system, that the pronunciation, according to the vowel points, is the true pronunciation. A concise statement of the arguments



ments for and against the vowel points, may be found in Houbigant's preface to his *Racines Hebraïques*, Paris 1732. Those, who wish to investigate the subject further, must have recourse to the writings of Capellus, and the two Buxtorfs, who, though first in the controversy, completely exhausted the subject.

It should be added, that Masclef never thought of restoring the pronunciation of the living language: he knew the attempt to be desperate; and its impracticability was his defence. Giving up, therefore, the original pronunciation as irrecoverable, he carried his views no further, than to devise some mode of pronunciation, easy to be acquired, by which the reader of the Hebrew might give some utterance, right or wrong, it mattered not, to every word. He admitted, that his own was a false pronunciation: but he contended, that the Masoretic was equally false, and that the sort of falsehood which obtained in his, was far less mischievous than that of the Masoretic. Few, however, of those who disregard the vowel points, at this time, follow Masclef entirely. When a vowel is to be supplied between two consonants (which is not always necessary), some make it a rule to sound between them an *ă* or an *ě*: others, whichever of the five vowels unites best with the letters of the word. The latter mode produces a tolerably good pronunciation, if care be taken to sound the supplied vowels short,

short, and the original vowels of the alphabet, when they occur, long. To acquire a consummate knowledge of the vowel points, and of the rules for their application, and to be able to pronounce the Hebrew language, according to them, readily, is an arduous undertaking. Extreme perfection is seldom attained in it, by a person not born a Jew. But some progress in it is necessary, even to a moderate knowledge of the language. The vowel points form a sort of cypher, conveying to those, who will take the pains to understand it, a perpetual comment upon the sacred text of the Old Testament, by the Jewish literati\*.

## VII.

VII. I. An attention to the study of the language, naturally produces a desire to be acquainted with the HISTORY OF THE JEWS. The Sacred Writings, which compose the Old Testament, lead the reader to the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and their wars under the Asmonæan princes: thus far also the works of Flavius Josephus accompany him; thence they lead him on to the time of their final dispersion.

\* Doctor Semler (*Apparatus ad liberalem V. T. interpretationem, Hæle 1773*) expresses this very forcibly: *Jus fax non est, temere projicere atque negligere ista interpretum publica ministeria; sed nec Judaico stupore et vanâ religione nostros implere docet.*

Few parts of ancient history are less attended to, than that which comprehends the period of time, which intervened between the return of the Jews from the captivity, and the birth of Christ. Yet on many accounts it deserves particular attention.

	Year of the World
By the decree of Cyrus, Zerubbabel, the prince or chief of the Jews, was sent to rebuild the tem- ple in        -        -        -        -        -        -	3469

Joshua, son of Josedeck, lineally descended from Aaron, was at that time high priest; and the priesthood remained in his family till it was assumed by Judas Macchabæus, and by that means passed into the family of the Asmonæans. This was a period of 369 years        -        -        -        -        -        - 3838

It continued in the Asmonæan family till they were destroyed by Herod—a period of 129 years. In the last year of his reign Christ was born        -        -        -        -        -        - 3967

The three following genealogical Tables will serve to explain this period.

The first is a genealogical account of the high priests, who, after the captivity, officiated in the temple built by Zerubbabel, or, as it is generally called, the Second Tem-

G

ple;—

ple;—from him it is entitled *Stemmata Zerubbabellano-Pontificia*.

The second is a genealogical Table of the Macchabæan, or, as they are more properly called, the Asmonæan princes;—from them it is entitled *Stemmata Asmonæana*.

The third is a genealogical Table of Herod's family;—from his Idumæan extraction, it is entitled *Stemmata Idumæana*.

It should be observed, that mention is made in them, of those persons only, who are spoken of particularly in the Jewish history, and of those through whom the descent to them is deduced: so that, except in this point of view, the *Stemmata* produced here are very incomplete. Those who wish to see them at full length, will find them in Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*. The Idumæan pedigree is excellently stated in Relandus's *Palestina*, in the second volume of Brotier's *Tacitus*, and more at length in Noldius's *Historia Idumæa*, published in Havercamp's edition of Josephus.

Josedek, the first of the high priests mentioned in the *Stemmata Zerubbabellano-Pontificia*, was high priest when the captivity began. His son assisted Zerubbabel in rebuilding the

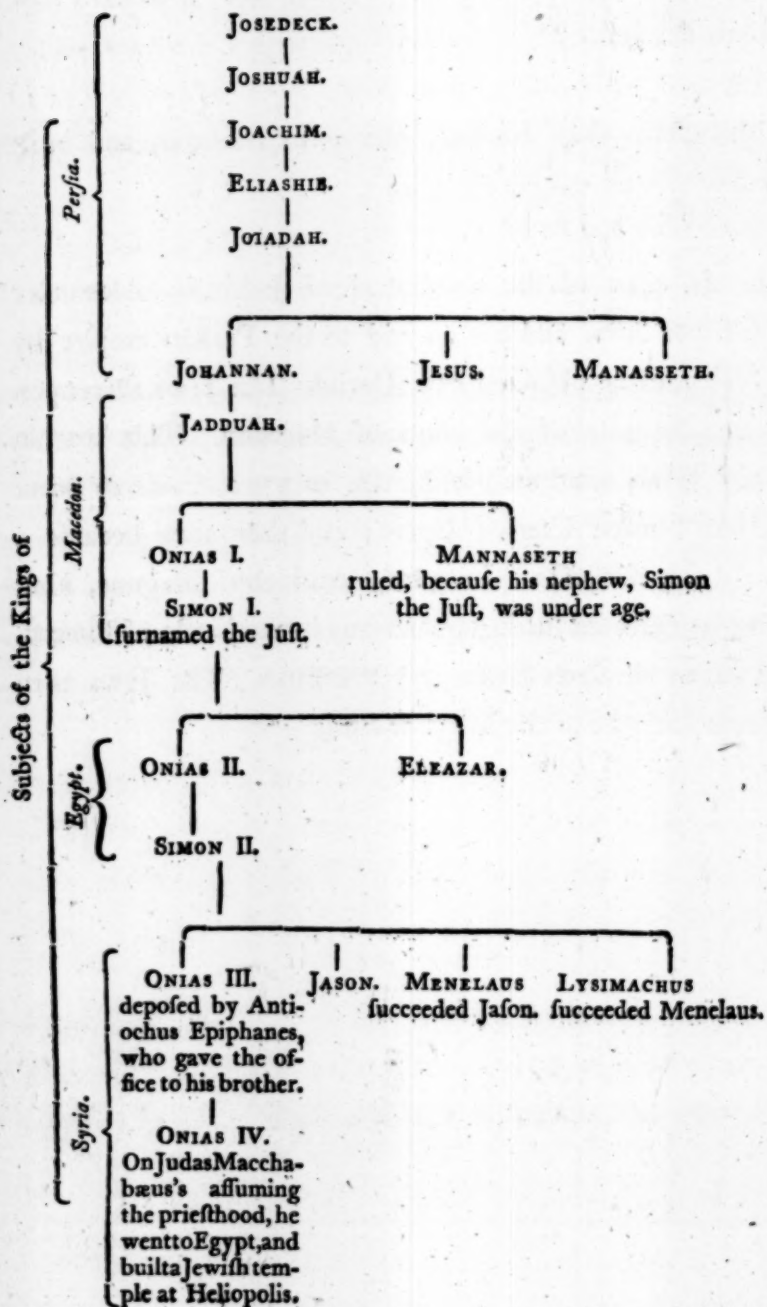


the Temple. Eliahib was contemporary with Artaxerxes Longimanus, called in Scripture, Ahasuerus, who married Esther the [adopted] daughter of Mordecai. Johannan slew his brother Jesus.

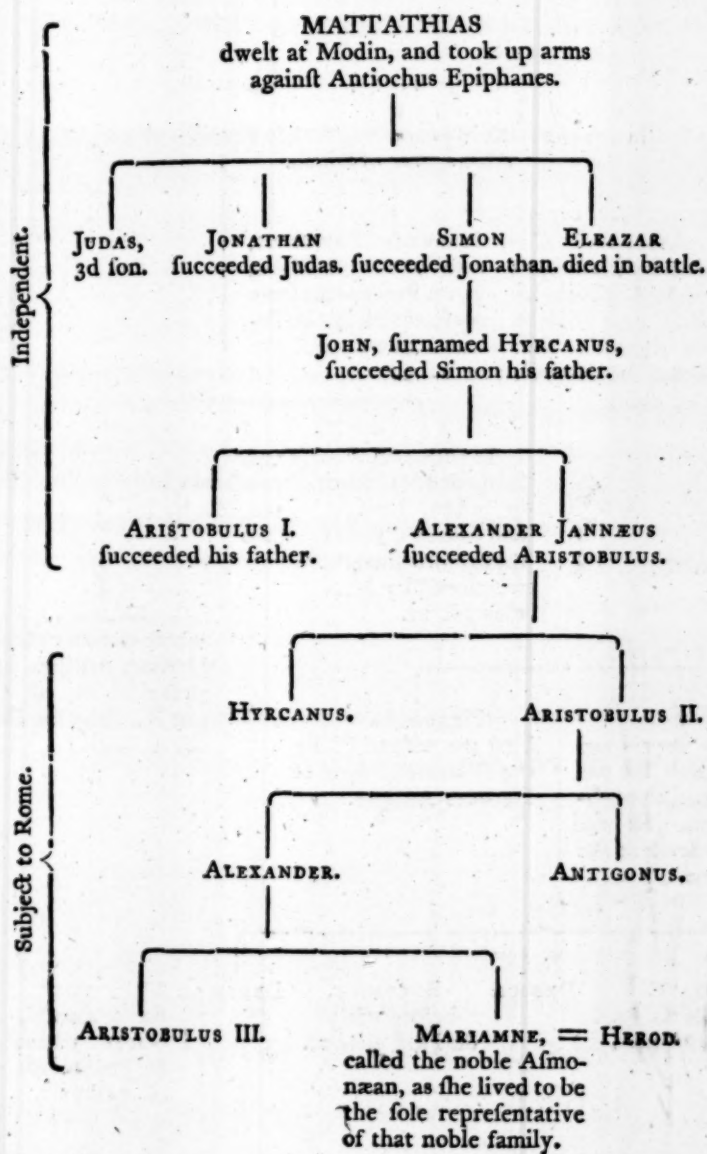
Manasseh, their brother, retired to Samaria, and built the Temple on mount Gerizim.

In the time of the priesthood of Jadduah, Alexander passed into Asia, and put an end to the Persian empire by the victories he obtained over Darius. The Jews thereupon became subjects of the kings of Macedon. This was in 3670. They continued such, till, in 3700, Ptolemy Soter declared himself king of Egypt; and then they became a part of his subjects. In 3806, Antiochus Magnus, king of Syria, defeated the Egyptian army in the battle of Paneas, and seized all Coele-Syria and Palestine. The Jews then became subjects of the kings of Syria.

## STEMMATA ZERUBBABELLANO-PONTIFICIA.



## STEMMATA ASMONÆANA.



## STEMMATA IDUMÆANA,

ANTIPAS.

ANTIPATER.

HEROD. = MARIAMNE. = MARIAMNE, = MATTHOE. = CLEOPATRA.  
2d daughter of Simon.

ARISTOBULUS,  
Put to death by his father's  
orders a few days before his  
decease; which gave rise to  
the saying of Augustus, that  
he would rather be Herod's  
swine than his child.

HERODES PHILIPPUS,  
mentioned by St. Mark,  
vi. 17. Perhaps the same  
person as Philip the Te-  
trarch, mentioned Luke  
iii. 1.

ARCHELAUS,  
succeeded his father  
in Judæa, Samaria,  
and Idumæa, under  
the title of Ethnarch,  
mentioned by Mat-  
thew, ii. 22.

HERODES ANTIPAS = HERODIAS.  
to whom Christ  
was sent by Pi-  
late.

SALOME,  
whose dancing pleased  
Herodes Antipas, and  
prevailed on him to  
put St. John the Bap-  
tist to death.

AGRIPPA I.  
St. Peter imprisoned  
in his life-time. He put  
to death James, the bro-  
ther of John. He was  
struck with death at the  
public shews.

HERODIAS.  
First the wife of Philip  
the Tetrarch, then of  
Herodes Antipas.

AGRIPPA II.  
before whom St. Paul  
pleaded. Acts xxvi.

DRUSUS.

BERENICE,  
before whom  
St. Paul pleaded.

DRUSILLA = FESTUS.  
the proconsul,  
before whom  
St. Paul plead-  
ed. Acts xxiv.



The family of Joarib was the first class of priests of the sons of Eleazer, the son of Aaron the high priest. Some time after the captivity, one of the family was called Asmonæus. From him the family received the name of *Asmonæans*. Antiochus Epiphanes began the severe persecution of the Jews, which occasioned Mattathias, a leader in the family, to rise in arms against him. This was in 3836. The victories of his sons made the Jews independent of the Syrian monarch.

The victories of Pompey the Great over Tigranes gave the Romans a pretence, and a quarrel which happened in 3940, between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the sons of Alexander Jannæus, gave them an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Jews. From this time the Jews became subjects to the Romans.

When the Jews were carried captives to Babylon, the Edomites, or *Idumæans*, possessed themselves of the southern part of the lands occupied by the tribe of Judah. John Hyrcanus, the Asmonæan prince of that name, conquered them in 3875, and made them embrace the Jewish religion. Antipas, the grandfather of Herod, was an Idumæan Jew. Herod began his reign 3967. He married Mariamne, the sole representative of the noble family of the Asmonæans, and thence called by her contemporaries the noble Asmonæan. He enlarged, adorned, and in a manner

manner rebuilt the temple of Zerubbabel. As it was built on the same foundation, and with the same materials, as far as they could go, it was not considered as a new temple, distinct from that of Zerubbabel. In the thirty-third year of his reign, Christ was born. The following year Herod died.

The following is a catalogue of the High Priests, from the beginning of Herod's reign, till the final destruction of the temple. They had no hereditary right, but were set up and removed at the pleasure of Herod and his successors.

Ananclus.	at the time of Christ's pas-
Jesus.	sion.
Simon.	Annas alone :—
Josephus.	Acts iv. & v.
Joazar.	Jonathas.
Eleazar.	Theophilus.
Jesus.	Simon.
Joazar.	Matthias.
Anna or Annas.	Ælionæus.
Ishmael.	Joseph.
Eleazar.	Ananias, called by St. Paul a
Simon.	white wall.
Annas, and Caiaphas his	Ishmael.
son-in-law, colleagues,	Josephus.

Anna.

Anna.

Matthias.

Jefus.

Phannias.

Jefus.

Phannias was high priest when Jerusalem and the temple were destroyed by Titus Vespasian. This was in the 70th year of the Christian æra. Since that time the Jews have neither had temple, nor high priest, nor holy city.

VII. 2. With respect to *the present state of the Jews*, their history, from the death of Christ to the present century, has been ably written by Monsieur Basnage. It presents a scene of suffering and persecution unparalleled in the annals of the world. Wherever the Jews have been established, they necessarily have borne their share of the evils of the age in which they lived, and the country in which they resided. But, besides their common share in the sufferings of society, they have undergone a series of horrid and unutterable calamities, which no other description of men have experienced in any age or any country. "What have ye done, O ungrateful men!" exclaims Bossuet; "slaves in every country, and under every prince, still ye serve not strange gods. Why then has God, who chose you, forgotten you? Where are his ancient mercies? What crime, what atrocity more heinous than idolatry,

H

" has

“ has brought on you a punishment, that even your re-  
 “ peated idolatries did not bring upon you? Ye are silent!  
 “ Ye see not what makes your God thus inexorable! Then  
 “ recollect the words of your fathers,—Let HIS blood be  
 “ on us and on our children; WE will have no other  
 “ King than Cæsar. Be it so: the Messiah shall not be  
 “ your King,—continue slaves of Cæsar, slaves of the so-  
 “ vereigns of the earth, till the Church shall be filled  
 “ with the Gentiles! Then only shall Israel be saved.”  
 But while we reverence, in their sufferings and calamities,  
 the prophecies which foretold them, so long before they  
 happened; while, in humble silence and submission, we  
 adore the inscrutable and unsearchable decrees of God,  
 who thus terribly visits the sins of fathers on their chil-  
 dren, we shall find, that in judging between them and  
 their persecutors, it is a justice due to them from us, to  
 acknowledge, that, if on some occasions they may be  
 thought to have deserved their misfortunes by their private  
 vices or public crimes, it has oftener happened, that they  
 have been the innocent victims of avarice, rage, or mis-  
 taken zeal. *Res est sacra, miser.* Their sufferings alone  
 entitled them to compassion; and our compassion for them  
 should rise to an higher feeling, when, to use the lan-  
 guage of St. Paul (Rom. ix. 4, 5, and 6.) we consider,  
 “ that theirs was the adoption, the glory, the covenants,  
 “ the



“ the law, the worship, the promise, and the fathers, and  
“ that from them descended the Christ according to the  
“ flesh, who is God over all, blessed for ever” (Rom. xi.  
26, 28); “ that the hour approaches, when all Israel shall  
“ be saved, when the deliverer shall come out of Zion,  
“ and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob;” and that,  
even in their present state of rejection, “ they are beloved  
“ of God, for their fathers’ sake.” To the honour of the  
See of Rome, it must be said, that the Roman Pontiffs,  
with some few exceptions, have treated them with lenity,  
defended them against their persecutors, and often check-  
ed the mistaken zeal of those, who sought to convert them  
by force. Thus, St. Gregory the Great always exhorted  
his clergy, and the other parts of his flock, to behave to  
them with candour and tenderness. He repeatedly declar-  
ed, that they should be brought into the unity of faith, by  
gentle means, by fair persuasions, by charitable advice, not  
by force: and that, as the law of the state did not allow  
their building new synagogues, they ought to be allowed  
the free use of their own places of worship. His succe-  
sors, in general, pursued the same line of conduct. The  
persecutions excited by the Emperor Heraclius against the  
Jews, were blamed at the fourth council of Toledo, which  
declared, “ that it was unlawful and unchristianlike to  
“ force people to believe, seeing it is God alone who har-  
“ dens and shews mercy to whom he will.” St Isidore of

Seville was an advocate for the mild treatment of them. There is extant a letter from St. Bernard, to the Archbishop of Mentz, in which he strongly condemns the violence shewn them by the crusaders. At a latter period, Pope Gregory the IXth, a zealous promoter of the crusade itself, observing, that the crusaders in many places began their expedition with massacres of the Jews, not only loudly reprehended it, but took all proper methods of preventing such barbarity. Pope Nicholas IIId protected them, in his own dominions, even against the inquisition; and sent letters into Spain, to prevent force to be used to compel them to abjure their religion. Pope Alexander the VIth received with kindness, and recommended to the protection of the other Italian states, the Jews who came to Rome or other parts of Italy, on their banishment from Spain and Portugal. Paul the IIIId shewed them so much kindness, that Cardinal Sadolet thought him blameable for carrying it to an excess. By the bulls of Pius V. and Clement the VIIIth, they are banished from the papal dominions, except Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. Pope Innocent the XIth gave them several marks of his favour. "Popish Rome," says Barrios, hath always protected the "Jews, ever since its general Titus destroyed Jerusalem."

VII. 3. Of the state of the Jews during the middle ages, we have curious and interesting accounts by Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre, and Rabbi Pitachah ; two learned Jews, who, in the twelfth century, visited the principal cities of the east, where the Jews had synagogues, and returned through Hungary, Germany, Italy, and France. A wish to magnify the importance of their brethren, is discernible in the writings of both ; and, for their extreme credulity, both are justly censured. But, after every reasonable deduction is made on these accounts, from the credibility of their narratives, much will remain to interest even an intelligent and cautious reader. At different times, the Jews have been banished from France, from Germany, from Spain, from Bohemia, and from Hungary. We have particular accounts of the miseries of those, who were banished from the last of these kingdoms. They were banished from England in the reign of Edward the First, but were permitted to return by Oliver Cromwell. Numbers of them are settled in Persia, in the Turkish Empire, in Fez, Morocco, Barbary, in many parts of the East Indies, in some parts of Germany, in some of the Italian states, in Poland, in Prussia, and the Hanse towns. Their condition is most flourishing in England and Holland ; but Poland is the principal seat of their literature. They have no accurate deduction of their descent or genealogy. They suppose, that, in general, they are of the tribes of Benjamin

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jamin and Judah, with some among them of the tribe of Levi; but the Spanish and Portuguese Jews claim this descent, exclusively for themselves, and, in consequence of it, will not by marriage, or otherwise, incorporate with the Jews of other nations. They have separate synagogues; and if a Portuguese Jew should, even in England or Holland, marry a German Jewess, he would immediately be expelled the synagogue, deprived of every civil and ecclesiastical right, and ejected from the body of the nation. They found their pretensions on a supposition, which prevails among them, that many of the principal families removed or were sent into Spain, at the time of the captivity of Babylon. See the *Reflexions Critiques*, added to the second letter, in the incomparable collection, intitled, *Lettres de quelques Juifs Portugais, Allemands, et Polonais, à M. de Voltaire*.—It is certain, that a large body of Jews is established in China; the best account of them is in Brotier's *Tacitus*, vol. iii. p. 567. [4<sup>to</sup>, Paris, 1771.]

All Jews, say the authors of the *Universal History*, feel the dignity of their origin, recollect their former pre-eminence, with conscious elevation of character, and bear with indignation their present state of degradation and political subserviency. But they comfort themselves with the hope, that their hour of triumph is at hand, when the long expected Messiah will come, will gather them from the corners



ners of the earth, will settle them in the land of their fathers, and subject all the nations of the earth to his throne.

VII. 4. *With respect to the religious tenets of the Jews;* they are thirteen in number, and are as follows—

1. “ I believe with a true and perfect faith that God is  
“ the Creator (whose name be blessed), governor and maker  
“ of all creatures, and that he hath wrought all things, work-  
“ eth and shall work for ever.

2. “ I believe with perfect faith, that the Creator (whose  
“ name be blessed) is one, and that such an unity as in  
“ him, can be found in none other; and that he alone  
“ hath been our God, is and for ever shall be.

3. “ I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator  
“ (whose name be blessed) is not corporeal, not to be com-  
“ prehended with any bodily properties; and that there is  
“ no bodily essence can be likened unto him.

4. “ I believe with a perfect faith, the Creator (whose  
“ name be blessed) to be the first and the last, and that  
“ nothing was before him, that he shall abide the last for  
“ ever.

5. “ I

5. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator  
" (whose name be blessed) is to be worshipped, and none  
" else.

6. " I believe with a perfect faith, that all the words of  
" the prophets are true.

7. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the prophecies  
" of Moses (our master, may he rest in peace) were true.  
" That he was the father and chief of all wise men, that  
" lived before him or ever shall live after him.

8. " I believe with a perfect faith, that all the law  
" which at this day is found in our hands, was delivered  
" by God himself, to our master Moses (God's peace be  
" with him.)

9. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the same law is  
" never to be changed, nor any other to be given us of  
" God (whose name be blessed).

10. " I believe with a perfect faith, that God (whose  
" name be blessed) understandeth all the works and thoughts  
" of men: as it is written in the prophets; He fashioneth  
" their hearts alike; He understandeth all their works.

11. " I

11. " I believe with a perfect faith, that God will recompense good to them who keep his commandments, and will punish those who transgress them.

12. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the Messiah is yet to come; and, although he retard his coming, yet I will wait for him till he come.

13. " I believe with a perfect faith, that the dead shall be restored to life when it shall seem fit unto God the Creator (whose name be blessed, and memory celebrated world without end, Amen.)"

VII. 5. *The doctors and teachers of the Jews have been distinguished by different appellations.* Those employed in the Talmud were, from the high authority of their works, among the Jews, called *Amouroïm*, or dictators. They were succeeded by the *Seburoïm*, or opinionists, a name given them, from the respect which the Jews had for their opinions; and because they did not dictate doctrines, but inferred opinions by disputation and probable arguments. These were succeeded by the *Gheonim*, or the excellent; who received their name, from the very high esteem, and even veneration, in which they are held by the Jews. They subsisted till the destruction of the academies of the Jews in Babylon, by the Saracens, about the year 1038. From that term the learned among the Jews have been called

*Rabbins.* It is seldom, that a Jew applies himself to profane literature. Even the lawfulness of it has been generally questioned. Some have greater respect than others for the Talmudical doctrines. In consequence of using in his writings some free expressions concerning them, a violent storm was raised against Maimonides. Kimchi, and, generally speaking, all the Spanish and Narbonne doctors, took part with him. The others, led on by R. Solomon, the chief of the synagogue of Montpellier, opposed him. Both parties were equally violent, and the synagogues excommunicated each other. This dispute commenced about the middle of the twelfth, and lasted till nearly the thirteenth century. But the great distinction of the Jewish Rabbins is that of the *Tanaites* or *Rabbanists* and *Caraites*. The first are warm advocates for the traditionary opinions, generally received among the Jews, particularly those of the Talmud; and for the observation of several religious ceremonies and duties, not enjoined by the law of Moses: the others absolutely rejected all traditionary opinions, and hold all rites and duties, not enjoined by the law of Moses, to be human institutions, with which there is no obligation that a Jew should comply.

VII. 6. *The Cabala* is distinguished into three sorts:—

By the first, they extract from the words of Scripture recondite meanings, which are sometimes ingenious, but always fanciful.



fanciful. The second is a sort of magic, in employing the words and letters of the Scripture, in certain combinations, which, they suppose, have power to make the good and evil spirits of the invisible world familiar to them. The third, which is properly the Cabala, is an art, by which they profess to raise mysterious expositions of the Scripture, upon the letters of the sentences, to which they apply them. The whole is fancy and imagination. This some even among the Jews acknowledge.

VII. 7. When Rousseau says in his *Emile*, “ Je ne croirai jamais avoir bien entendu les raisons des Juifs, qu’ils n’aient une état libre, des écoles, des universités, où ils puissent parler et demeurer sans risque; alors seulement, nous pourrons sçavoir ce qu’ils ont à dire,” he evidently writes on a subject, of which he was perfectly ignorant. At all times, the Jews have had schools, and numberless are the *works they have published, in defence of Judaism, and against the Christian religion*. The most celebrated of these are the *Toledoth Jesu*, a work replete with the boldest blasphemy, and the *Chizzouk Emounah*, or buckler of faith, a work of great ability. These and some other writings of the Jews, against Christianity, are collected, and an ample refutation of them published, in the *Tela Ignea Satania* of Wagenfeil, *Aldorphi Noricorum*, 1681. The *Pugio Fidei* of Raymundus Martinus is considered to be a learned and pow-

erful defence of the Christian religion, against the arguments of the Jews; and though it be not free from the literary defects of the times in which it was written, it still preserves its reputation. The *Amica Collatio de veritate Religionis Christianæ cum erudito Judæo*, of Limborch, and the papers published with it, form one of the most interesting and entertaining works of controversy, that have appeared upon any subject.

VII. 8. *It is a mistake to suppose the Jews an intolerant people.* They hold all men obliged to observe, what are called the seven precepts of the sons of Noah. These are—1st, not to commit adultery; 2dly, not to blaspheme; 3dly, to appoint just and upright judges; 4thly, not to commit incest; 5thly, not to commit murder; 6thly, not to rob or steal; and 7thly, not to eat a member of any living creature. But they hold the Jews alone obliged to conform to the Sinaitic covenant, or law of Moses. They say, it was a covenant between God and the Jews; that the Jews therefore are bound to the performance of it; but that it is not binding on the rest of mankind. Those who forsake idolatry, and profess to follow the precepts of Noah, are called by them, *Profelytes of the Gate*; and, while the Jewish government existed, were permitted to live among them. Those who take on them the observance of the whole law, are called *Profelytes of Justice or Righteousness*; they are initiated

ed to it, by ablution, sacrifice, and circumcision ; and are thenceforth considered to be Jews, for all purposes, except intermarriage, from which some nations are excluded for ever, others till after the third generation.

## VIII.

With respect to the HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW TEXT,

VIII. 1. It is observable, that no extensive collation of the *Hebrew manuscripts* of the sacred text was made till the present century. This was owing, in a great measure, to the notion which had been formed, of the integrity of the sacred text, in consequence of its supposed preservation from error, by the wonder-working Masorah. In the annals of literature, there is not, perhaps, a more striking instance of the little safety there is, in trusting, without examination, to received opinions, than the general acquiescence of the learned in that opinion. The Rabbins boldly asserted, and the Christians implicitly believed, that the Hebrew text was free from error, and that, in all the manuscripts of it, not an instance of a various reading of importance could be produced. “ *Qua latissime patent oriens et occidens, uno ore, uno modo, verbum Dei legitur ; et omnium librorum, qui in Asiam, Africâ, vel Europâ sunt, sine ullâ discrepantiâ consonans bar-*  
“ *monia*

*“monia cernitur.”* Such is the astonishing language of Buxtorf, in his *Tiberias*. The first, who combated this notion in form of regular attack, was Ludovicus Capellus. From the difference he observed between the Hebrew text and the version of the Seventy, and between the Hebrew and the Samaritan Pentateuch; from the manifest and palpable corruptions he thought he saw in the text itself; and from the many reasons which made him suppose the vowel points and the Maforah were both a modern and an useless invention, he was led to question the general integrity of the text; and even his enemies allowed, that in his attack upon it, he discovered extreme learning and ingenuity. Still, however, he admitted the uniformity of the manuscripts. When this was urged against him by Buxtorf, he had little to reply. At length (what should have been done before any thing had been said or written on the subject), the manuscripts themselves were examined, and innumerable various readings in them discovered. From this time the Biblical criticism of the sacred text took a new turn. Manuscripts were collated every where; were examined with the same attention, the various readings of them were discussed with the same freedom, and their respective merits ascertained by the same rules of criticism, as had been before used, in respect of manuscripts of profane authors. The celebrated collation of Dr. Kennicott was begun in the year 1760. He undertook to collate all the manuscripts of the sacred text in England  
and



and in Ireland; and while he should be employed in this (which he supposed might be about ten years), to collate, as far as the expence would admit, all the Hebrew manuscripts of importance, in foreign countries. The first volume was printed in 1769; the second, and only other, in 1780. Dr. Kennicott himself collated two hundred and fifty manuscripts. Under his direction, and at his expence, Mr. Bruns collated three hundred and fifty: so that the whole number of manuscripts collated, on this occasion, was six hundred. There is, however, reason to suppose, that some of the manuscripts were confounded and numbered more than once: on this ground it has been asserted, that the number of them should be reduced to about five hundred and eighty. Dr. Kennicott mentions in his Preface several manuscripts, which it was not in his power to collate. It appears, that, in his opinion, fifty one of the manuscripts collated for his edition were from six hundred to eight hundred, and that one hundred and seventy-four were from four hundred and eighty to five hundred and eighty years old. Four quarto volumes of various readings have since been published by M. *De Rossi* of Parma, from more than four hundred manuscripts; some of which are said to be of the seventh or eighth century, as well as from a considerable number of rare and unnoticed editions, under the title of *Varia Lectiones Veteris Testamenti, ex immensa manuscriptorum editorumque codicum congerie, hausta et examinata*,—*Parma*, 1786. The matter, however, is far  
from

from being exhausted, particularly if the possible treasures of the East are taken into calculation. The consequence of these extensive collations has been, to raise a general opinion among the learned, 1st, that all the manuscript copies of the Hebrew Scriptures now extant may, in some sort be called Masoretic copies because none of them have entirely escaped the rude hands of the Masorites: 2dly, that the most valuable manuscripts, generally speaking, are those which are oldest, written at first without points or accents, containing the greatest number of real vowels, or *matres lectionis*, exhibiting marks of an accurate transcriber, and conforming most to the antient versions, and with regard to the Pentateuch, conforming most to the Samaritan exemplar, and the Greek uninterpolated version: 3dly, that the Masoretic copies often disagree, and, that the further back, they go, the greater is their disagreement from the present printed copy: fourthly, that the synagogical rolls disagree the least from the printed copies, so that they are of little value in ascertaining the text; an excellent judge has said, that he would not change the smallest fragment of an old manuscript, of the tenth age, for the finest synagogical roll in Europe: 4thly, from all this they conclude, that the surest sources of emendation, are a collation of manuscripts and parallel places; a comparison of the text with the antient versions, and of these with one another; grammatical analogy; and, where all these fail, even conjectural criticism. The merit of Dr.

Kennicott's

Kennicott's labours is generally acknowledged; his opinions on the state of the Hebrew text are generally received: and the high pretensions of the Masorah are generally rejected. Still, however, the ancient opinions have some advocates. They do not go so far as to assert, that a collation of Hebrew manuscripts is perfectly useless; but they think it may be prized higher than it deserves: that, when manuscripts of an earlier date than the Masorah are sought for, it should not be forgot, that the Masorites had those manuscripts, when they settled the text; and what hopes can there be, they ask, that at the close of the eighteenth century, after the Hebrew has long ceased to be a spoken language, a Christian, so much of whose time is employed in other pursuits, and distracted by other cares, can make a better use of those manuscripts than was actually made of them, by the Masoretic literati, whose whole time, whose every thought, from their earliest years to their latest age, was devoted to that one object; who lived among the people, and almost in the country, where the events, recorded by them, happened,—who saw with their own eyes the manners they describe, and daily and hourly spoke and heard a language kindred to that in which they are written? But, if there must be a collation of manuscripts, then, say they, no manuscript written by any other than a Jew, or wanting any one of the before mentioned marks of authenticity, should be taken into account: and, trying the question of the in-

tegrity of the text by these, which they call, the only authentic manuscripts, no question, they assert, will remain of the perfect integrity, and perfect freedom from corruption, of the present text. Where it can be shewn, that the text of the Masorah is corrupt, the genuineness of the Bible reading may be doubted: but where there is no reason to impeach the Masorah, the text, as they assert, is beyond controversy. Wolfius. Bibl. Hebræa, tom, ii. 332, boldly says, "*Congerantur in cumulum, si quis subnasci unquam potest, omnes varietates, et omni ego pignore contendere ansim, eas magis ad stabiliendam quam dubiam reddendam lectionem hodie receptam inservituras esse.*" Opitius, in the last page but one of his Preface, says, still more confidently, "*Quin si vel omnes impressi, vel manuscripti codices convenirent in afferendâ lectione quâdam, contrarium vero pronunciaret Masora; confiderenter ejus secuti sumus auctoritatem, si modo nobis constaret illam esse genuinam.*" The same opinion is adopted by Tychsen, in his work already cited, and to enforce it, appears to have been his chief object in writing that work. It is also adopted in its fullest extent, by Mr. Benjoin, in his *Jonah*. The *Titres Primitifs of Fabricy*, Rome 1772, contain much curious learning, urged with a considerable degree of ingenuity, in favour of the Masoritic system. *Tantas non nostrum est componere lites.*

VIII. 2. With



VIII. 2. With respect to *the printed editions of the Hebrew Bible*, those which have appeared to deserve particular attention, are, the edition at Soncino, in 1488, from its being the first printed edition of the whole Bible; the edition at Brescia, in 1494, from its being the edition used by Luther, in his translation; a third was printed in 1517, without the name of any place. These three editions are called the *Soncinates*, being printed by Jews, of a family which came originally from Germany, and established themselves at Soncino, a town in Lombardy, between Cremona and Brescia. They were the first Hebrew printers. Some of them afterwards established themselves in Bologna, Brescia, and Rimini. *Bomberg's edition* was printed five times, and is distinguished by the beauty of the type; but, not being divided into chapters and verses, is unfit for general use. The first of his editions was printed in 1518, the last in 1544: they were all printed at Venice, and are all in 4<sup>to</sup>. *Robert Stephen's* 16<sup>mo</sup> edition is most elegantly printed. It is in seven volumes, and was printed at Paris 1544—1546. He had before printed a 4<sup>to</sup> edition at Paris, in four volumes, 1539—1544. The celebrated edition of *Athias*, a Jew, printer at Amsterdam, was published in that city, first in 1661, and afterwards in 1667: it is remarkable for being the first edition in Hebrew, in which the verses are numbered. It was beautifully re-printed by *Everardus Vander Hooght*, in two volumes 8<sup>vo</sup>, 1705. This edition has the

general reputation of great accuracy. Some have called its accuracy in question; but the elegance of the type, the beauty of the paper, and the fine glossy blackness of the ink, cannot be denied. His text was adopted by Dr. Kennicott, in his edition. The Doctor observes, that the variations between the edition printed in 1488, and the edition of Vander Hooght, amount, upon the whole, to above twelve thousand. The states of Holland rewarded Athias's labours, with a present from them of a golden chain, with a golden medallion pendent from it. The *Plantinian editions* have considerable merit for their neatness and accuracy. The edition of *Nunes Torres*, with the notes of Raschè, was begun in 1700, was printed in 1705, and was the favourite edition of the Jews. Most of the former editions were surpassed by that of *Michaelis* in 1720. A critical edition was published by Raphael Chajim Basila, a Jew at Mantua, in four parts, 1742—1744.

The editions, of which we have been speaking hitherto, are of the Hebrew alone, without any translation. The most celebrated edition of the Hebrew with a Latin translation, was that of *Sebastian Munster*. The first volume of the first edition was printed in 1534, the second volume in 1535; the second edition was printed in 1546. It was the first Latin translation by any of the separatists from the see of Rome. *Santes Pagninus* was the first of the commun-

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cants with that see, who made an entirely new Latin version. It was published at Lyons, in 1528, and has often been republished. That it is an accurate and faithful translation, all acknowledge,—that the Latinity is barbarous, cannot be denied; but, as it was the author's plan, to frame a verbal translation, in the strictest and most literal sense of that word, its supposed barbarism was unavoidable, and cannot, therefore, be imputed to it, as a fault. With some improvement, and accompanied by the New Testament in Greek, and the vulgate translation of it in Latin, it was published in 1542, with notes by the celebrated Servetus. Arias Montanus printed it, with many corrections, in the Antwerp Polyglot: and this corrected translation has gone through a multitude of editions. Of these, the edition of Geneva in 1619 is the best. An edition, little known in this country, but, in many respects, highly valuable, is that, published by *Louis de Biel*, a Jesuit at Vienna, in 1743, in four volumes large octavo. It contains the Hebrew and two Latin versions, that of the vulgate edition, in 1592, and that of Arias Montanus. It is ornamented with vignettes, and the initial letters are on engraving, representing some fact of sacred history, to which the immediate subject is applicable. The celebrated edition of the Rev. *Charles Francis Houbigant*, an Oratorian, was published in four volumes folio, with a Latin version and prolegomena, at Paris, in 1753. The prolegomena and the Latin version have  
been

been printed separately. The merit of this edition is celebrated by all, who are not advocates for the Masorah. By them it is spoken of in the very harshest terms. Several manuscripts were occasionally consulted by the author: but it is evident, that he did not collate any one manuscript throughout. Mention has been already made of Dr. Kennicott's edition, and the subsequent labours of De Rossi. Prior to Houbigant's edition, was that of *Reineccius*, at Leipzig, in 1725, reprinted there in 1739. A new edition of it was printed in 1793, under the inspection of Dr. Doederlein, and Professor Meisner. It contains the most important of the various readings collected by Dr. Kennicott and M. De Rossi, printed under the text. For the purpose of common use, it is an excellent edition, and supplies the want of the splendid but expensive editions and collations, of Houbigant, Kennicott, and De Rossi. Those who extend their Biblical researches into Rabbinism, are recommended by the learned in that branch of Biblical literature, to the *Biblia Rabbinica* of *Rabbi Moses*, published at Amsterdam, in four volumes folio, in 1724—1727, which entirely superseded the *Biblia Rabbinica* of Bomberg and Buxtorf. The purchasers of it should see, that the copy offered to them contains the treatise of the Rabbi Abdias Sporno, *de Scopo Legis*, which, in the copies designed for sale to Christians, is generally omitted.



## IX.

IX. 1. THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS, according to Wetstein's account. are written either on parchment or vellum, or upon paper. The parchment or vellum is either purple-coloured, or of its natural colour : and either thin or thick. The paper is either filken, or of the common sort ; and either glazed, or of the ordinary roughness. The letters are either capital (generally called uncial), or small. The capital letters are either unadorned and simple, and the strokes of them very thin and streight ; or they are of a thicker kind, uneven and angulous. Some of them are supported on something like a base, others are ornamented, or rather burthened with a top. Letters of the first description are of the kind generally found on the antient monuments of Greece ; those of the last resemble the paintings of half barbarous times. Manuscripts, therefore, written in the first kind of letter, are generally supposed to be of the sixth century at the latest ; those written in the second kind of letter are generally supposed to be of the tenth century. The manuscripts written in the small letters are of a still later age. But the Greek manuscripts, copied by the Latins, after the reign of Charlemagne, are in another kind of Alphabet ; the  $\alpha$ , the  $\iota$ , and the  $\gamma$ , in them, are inflected, in the form of the letters of the Latin alphabet. Even in the earliest manuscripts

scripts some words are abbreviated. At the beginning of a new book, the four or five first lines are often written in vermillion. There are very few manuscripts of the entire New Testament. The greater part contain the Gospels only : very few have the Apocalypse. In almost all (and this is particularly the case of the older manuscripts) several leaves are wanting ; sometimes they are replaced in a writing of a much later date. All the manuscripts have obliterations and corrections. But here a material distinction is to be attended to : some of the alterations are made by the writer himself, others are made by another person, and at a subsequent time. The first are said to be *a primâ manu*, the second a *secundâ manu*.

IX. 2. The curious and extensive collations, which have been made of manuscripts within this century, have shewn that *certain manuscripts have an affinity to each other*, and that their text is distinguished from others by characteristic marks. This has enabled the writers on the subject to arrange them under certain general classes. They have observed, that, as different countries had different versions, according to their respective languages, their manuscripts naturally resembled their respective versions, as the versions, generally speaking, were made from the manuscripts in common use. Pursuing this idea, they have supposed four principal exemplars : 1st, the western exemplar, or that used in the countries where the

the Latin language was spoken;—with this, the Latin versions coincide; 2d, the Alexandrian exemplar;—with this, the quotations of Origen coincide: 3d, the Edessene exemplar, from which the Syriac version was made: and 4th, the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan exemplar: the greatest number of manuscripts written by the monks on mount Athos, the Moscow manuscripts, the Sclavonian or Russian versions, and the quotations of St. Chrysostom and Theophylact, Bishop of Bulgaria, are referrible to this edition. The readings of this exemplar are remarkably different from those of the other exemplars; between those a striking coincidence appears. A reading supported by all three of them is supposed to be of the very highest authority; yet the true reading is sometimes found only in the fourth.

IX. 3. From the *coincidence observed between many Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate*, or some other Latin translation, a suspicion arose in the minds of several writers of eminence, that the Greek text had been altered throughout, to the Latin. This seems to have been first suggested by Erasmus; but it does not appear that he supposed the alterations were made before the fifteenth century: so that the charge of *Latinizing* the manuscripts did not, in his notion of it, extend to the original writers of the manuscript, or, as they are called, the writers *a primâ manu*, as it affected only the subsequent interpolators, or as they are called, the writers *a*

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*secundâ*

*secundâ manu.* Father Simon and Mill adopted and extended the accusation; and it was urged by Wetstein with his usual vehemence and ability; so that it came to be generally received. Bengel expressed some doubts of it; and Semler formally called it in question. He was followed by Griesbach and Woide; and finally brought over Michaelis; who, in the first edition of his Introduction to the New Testament, had taken part with the accusers; but, in the fourth edition of the same work, with a candour, of which there are too few examples, declared himself persuaded, that the charge was unfounded, and totally abandoned his first opinion. Carrying the proof to its utmost length, it only shews, that the Latin translations, and the Greek copies, were made from the same exemplars. This rather proves the antiquity of the Latin translations, than the corruption of the Greek copies. It is also observable, that St. Jerome corrected the Latin from the Greek; a circumstance known in every part of the western church. Now (as Michaelis justly observes), when it was known that the learned father had made the Greek text the basis for his alterations in the Latin translation, it is scarcely to be imagined, that the learned men or the transcribers of the western church would alter the Greek by the Latin. It is still less probable, that those of the eastern church would act in this manner.



IX. 4. Besides the manuscripts which contain whole books of the New Testament, other manuscripts have been consulted, with a view to find out the true readings of the text; among these are the *Lecttionaria*, or collections of detached parts of the New Testament, appointed to be read in the public service of the church. These are distinguished into the *Evangelistarium*, or lessons from the Gospel; and the *Apostolos*, or lessons from the Acts and Epistles. The quotations from the New Testament, in the works of the antients, have also been consulted.

IX. 5. The principal manuscripts are the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezae, and the Codex Vaticanus. The Codex Alexandrinus consists of four volumes; the three first of them contain the Old Testament; the fourth, the New Testament, together with the first Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians, and a fragment of the second. The Codex Cantabrigiensis, or the Codex Bezae, is a Greek and Latin manuscript of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. The Codex Vaticanus contained, originally, the whole Greek Bible. The respective ages of these venerable manuscripts have been a subject of great controversy, and have employed the ingenuity and learning of several Biblical writers of great renown. After a profound investigation of the subject, Dr. Woide fixes the age of the *Codex Alexandrinus* between the middle

and the end of the fourth century ; after a similar investigation, Dr. Kipling fixes the age of the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, or the *Codex Bezaë*, at the second century : but Mr. Herbert Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis. vol. ii. p. 708—715, proves demonstratively, that it was not written beyond the fifth century. Montfaucon and Blanchini refer the *Codex Vaticanus* to the fifth century. But we are infinitely better acquainted with the two first, than with the third of these manuscripts. In 1786, a fac-simile edition of the New Testament in the *Codex Alexandrinus* was published at London, by Dr. Woide. His preface, with the addition of valuable notes, was republished at Leipzig, in 1788, by professor Spohn. In 1793, a fac-simile edition of the *Codex Cantabrigiensis*, or the *Codex Bezaë*, was published at Cambridge, at the expence of the University, by Dr. Kipling. These editions exhibit their respective prototypes, page for page, line for line, word for word, contraction for contraction, rasure for rasure, to a degree of similarity hardly credible. The types were cast for the purpose, in alphabets of various forms, that they might be varied with the manuscript, and represent it more exactly. Of a work of this kind, till those we are speaking of were published, the world had not seen an instance. That which approached nearest to them, was the Medicæan *Virgil*, published at Florence in 1741. The *Codex Vaticanus* has been often collated, but never published. Bentley procured important extracts to be made from it. These were  
published

published by Professor Birch, with his own, in the splendid edition of the four Gospels, which we shall afterwards have occasion to mention.

## X.

From the manuscripts of the New Testament, the passage is to the printed editions, commencing with the POLYGLOT EDITIONS, by reason of their superior importance. The first is that of *Complutum* or *Alcala*. It is divided into six parts, and [may be] comprised in four volumes folio. It has the Hebrew, Latin and Greek, in three distinct columns; the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin interpretation, is at the bottom of the page, and the margin is filled with the Hebrew and Chaldee radicals: the fourth [or last] volume contains the Greek Testament, with no other translation than the Latin. It was begun in 1502, the impression was printed off in 1517, and it was published in 1522. The expence of the work, which amounted (it is said) to fifty thousand ducats, was wholly paid by Cardinal Ximenes, one of the noblest and fairest characters that ever appeared on the theatre of the world. "The variety, the grandeur, and the success of his schemes, leave it doubtful," says Dr. Robertson, "whether his sagacity in council, his prudence in conduct, or his boldness in execution, deserve the highest praise. His reputation is still high in Spain, not only for wisdom

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“ dom but sanctity; and he is the only prime minister  
 “ mentioned in history, whom his contemporaries reveren-  
 “ ced as a saint, and to whom the people under his govern-  
 “ ment ascribed the power of working miracles.” An in-  
 teresting and pleasing account of his earnestness in promot-  
 ing the success of the work is given by the writers of his  
 life. It is mentioned in one of the Letters of Erasmus,  
 (tom. ix. 228, and see Hist. Lit. Reformationis Pars I. 60,  
 61), that Stunica having found Cardinal Ximenes reading  
 Erasmus’s edition of the New Testament, expressed his sur-  
 prise, that his Eminence should vouchsafe even to cast a  
 look upon a work, so full, as he termed it, of faults and  
 monstrous errors; that the Cardinal with great gravity re-  
 proved Stunica for his insolence; and desired him, if he  
 could, to produce a more valuable work, and in the mean  
 time, not to defame the labours of others. The anecdote  
 does honour to the Cardinal’s memory, as it shews his can-  
 dour, and how free he was from that little jealousy of au-  
 thors, which was one of the strange blemishes in the cha-  
 racter of the great rival of his political fame, the Cardinal  
 minister of Lewis the XIIIth. It is certain, that Cardinal  
 Ximenes spared no expence in collecting manuscripts; but,  
 whether he had any that were truly valuable, has been  
 much doubted. The doubt gave rise to a literary contro-  
 versy in Germany, which was chiefly managed by Semler  
 and Goeze; the former denying, the latter asserting, the  
 value



value of the Cardinal's manuscripts. In 1784, when Professor Birch was engaged in his edition of the Bible, Professor Moldenhawer went to Alcala, for the purpose of discovering the manuscripts used in the Ximenian polyglot. After much enquiry, he discovered, that, about thirty-five years before, they had been sold to a rocket-maker, of the name of Toryo; and the receipt given to him for his purchase was produced. Another objection made to the edition is, that the editors, in consequence of too high an opinion of the Vulgate, and a mistaken zeal for the Christian religion, introduced sometimes, into the Greek text, readings of the Vulgate, which they did not find in the Greek manuscripts. This point also was discussed, at length, in the controversy we have mentioned. Six hundred copies only were printed off. The common price of a copy is from forty pounds to sixty. A small number (it is thought not more than four) were printed on vellum. One of these, at the sale of the Pinelli library, was sold to Mr. Macartney, for four hundred and eighty-three pounds. For a typographical description of the work, see De Bure's *Bibliographie Instructive*, Theologie, Art. I. The Complutensian polyglot was followed and excelled by the *Polyglot of Antwerp*, printed in that city in 1569—1572, in eight volumes folio, under the direction of Arias Montanus. It contains, besides the whole of the Complutensian edition, a Chaldee paraphrase of part of the Old Testament, which

Cardinal

Cardinal Ximenes, having particular reasons for not publishing it, had deposited in the Theological library at Complutum. The New Testament has the Syriac Version, and the Latin translation of Santes Pagninus, as reformed by Arias Montanus. *The Polyglot of Paris*, printed in 1628—1645, in ten volumes folio, is one of the most splendid works, that ever issued from the press. It was printed at the expence of Monsieur Le Jay. Cardinal Richelieu offered to defray the whole cost of the impression, and to give Le Jay the whole profit of the sale, on condition, that he should let it pass under his name. On the other hand, the booksellers of London offered him very advantageous terms, on condition, that it should be called the London Polyglot: he refused both offers. Unfortunately the work had not a sale, so that the editor was completely ruined by it. It contains all that is in the Polyglots of Alcala and Antwerp, with the addition of a Syriac and Arabic version, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, and its versions. Less beautiful, but more accurate, and comprehending more than any of the three preceding Polyglots, is the *Polyglot of London*, printed in 1653—1657, in six volumes, to which the Lexicon Heptaglotton of Castell, in two volumes folio, is usually added. Dr. Bryan Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, was the editor of it. Twelve copies of it were printed on large paper: one, of great beauty, is in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral; another was in that of the Count de Lauraguais;

Lauraguais; another is in the library of St. John's College at Cambridge. It was published by subscription, and is said to be the first book printed in that manner in England. Dr. Walton had leave from the Protector to import his paper duty free. The title expresses its contents. *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Textus Originales, Hebraicum cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Græcum, versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanæ, Græcæ LXXII Interpretum, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Persicæ, Vulgatæ Latinæ, quidquid comparari potuit.* Thus nine languages are used in this edition; but no one book of the Bible is printed with so many. The *Leipsc Polyglot*, published in two volumes folio, in 1750, contains the text, according to the Masoretic revision, with the points; the Septuagint from Grabe's edition of the Alexandrine manuscript, corrected as far as could be, by Origen's asterisks and obeluses; with a Latin translation of it by Schmidius, and with Luther's translation, and notes of the various readings of the Vatican and other principal manuscripts, and with philological and explanatory notes. The cheapness of this edition makes it an useful substitute for the former Polyglots.

## XI.

The first of the GREEK PRINTED EDITIONS of the New Testament, in point of time, was that of *Erasmus*, with a new Latin translation. He published five editions of it, in the years 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, 1535. The edition of 1519 is most esteemed. The two last were altered in many places, especially in the Revelation of St. John, from the Complutensian edition. A brief to Erasmus from pope Leo the Xth is prefixed to it. Albertus, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mentz, writ him a most obliging letter, upon his edition, highly commending it, and desiring to see him. He sent him with the letter a golden cup, “*amplum et grave*,” says Erasmus, “*et opere spectandum*. “*Quin et nomen indidit. Ait vocari poculum amoris, ex quo, qui biberint, protinus benevolentia mutuâ conglutinari. Si vera sunt hæc, utinam, theologi Lovanienses ex eâ mecum potassent ante annos duos.*” It is observable, that the Greek text of Erasmus latinises, or, in other words, is made to conform to, the Vulgate translation, even more than that of Complutum, against which he strongly urged the charge of latinising. This edition involved Erasmus in a quarrel with the divines of Louvain, and with the Spanish divines, employed on the Complutensian



tenfian Polyglot. The principal of these was Stunica, a man of real learning. The controversy between him and Erasmus is instructive and interesting. In many instances Stunica had the advantage over Erasmus: but Erasmus had greatly the advantage over Lee, his English antagonist.

The next edition of the New Testament in Greek, is that inserted in the *Complutensian Polyglot*. The learned agree in wishing the editors had described, or, at least, specified the manuscripts they made use of. The editors speak highly of them; but this was, when the number of known manuscripts was small, and manuscript criticism was in its infancy; so that, without impeaching either their candour or their judgment, their assertions in this respect, must be understood with much limitation. It has been charged on them, that they sometimes altered the Greek text, without the authority of a single manuscript, to make it conform to the Latin. Against this charge they have been defended by Goeze, and, to a certain extent, by Griesbach. The strongest proof in support of the charge is, that after Stunica had, in the bitterest terms, reproached Erasmus with his omission of the celebrated verse of the heavenly witnesses, and Erasmus had, with equal vehemence, challenged Stunica to produce a single Greek manuscript in its support, he did not cite one Greek manuscript for it, but persisted in arguing from the authority

of the Latin. This, the late Dr. Travis, the zealous defender of the verse, owns himself unable to account for satisfactorily. The fate of their manuscripts has been already mentioned.

The editions of *Robert Stephens* are next to be considered. It is observable, that, while almost every other art has, from the time of its first invention, been in a state of gradual improvement to the present time, the art of printing, very soon after its first appearance, attained a degree of perfection, in many respects superior to its present state. Of this, the Greek editions of the new Testament by Robert Stephens, are a striking example. For exquisite beauty and delicacy of type, elegance and proper disposition of contractions, smoothness and softness of paper, liquid clearness of ink, and evenness of lines and letters, they have never been surpassed, and, in the opinion of many, never equalled. There are four editions of them published by himself, in 1546, 1549, 1550, and 1551. His son published a fifth edition in 1569. The third of these is in folio, and has the readings of sixteen manuscripts, in the margin. The two first are in 16mo, and of those, the first (that in 1546) is the most correct. There is prefixed to it an address, by Robert Stephens, to his readers, beginning, "O mirificam regis nostri optimi et præstantissimi  
" principis liberalitatem." From this it has been general-  
ly

ly termed the Mirificam edition. The correctness of this edition is equal to its beauty. Till lately, an opinion generally prevailed, that these types were absolutely lost; but in the *Essai Historique sur l'origine des caractères orientaux de l'imprimerie royale, et sur les caractères Grecs de François Ier. appelés communément Grecs du Roi*, published by Mr. de Guignes, in the first volume of the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, it appears, that the puncheons and matrices, used by Robert Stephens in these celebrated editions, are still preserved in the Imprimerie Royale at Paris. From the same work we learn, that in 1700, the University of Cambridge applied to the King of France to have a cast of the types; that a proposal was made them on the part of the King, that in the title-pages of the works printed by them, after the words "*typis academicis*" there should be added, *characteribus Græcis e typographæio regio Parisiensis*: that the University refused to accede to the proposal; and that, in consequence of the refusal, the negotiation went off.

The first edition of *Beza* was printed in 1565; he principally follows it in the third edition of Robert Stephens. He printed other editions in [1576,] 1582, 1589, 1598. They do not contain, every where, the same text. In his choice of readings he is accused of being influenced by the Calvinistic prejudices.

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The celebrated edition of the *Elzevirs* was first printed at Leyden, in 1624. It was printed from the third edition of Robert Stephens: where it varies from that edition, it follows, generally, the edition of Beza. By this edition, the text, which had fluctuated in the preceding editions, acquired a consistency. It was generally followed in all the subsequent editions. It has deservedly, therefore, obtained the appellation of *Editio-recepta*. The editors of it are unknown.

The celebrated edition of the Rev. *John Mill* was published at Oxford in 1707, after an assiduous labour of thirty years. He survived the publication of it only fourteen days. He inserted in his edition all the collections of various readings, which had been made before his time; he collated several original editions; procured extracts from Greek manuscripts, which had never been collated; and, in many instances, added readings from the ancient versions, and from the quotations of them in the works of the ancient fathers. The whole of the various readings collected by him, are said, without any improbability, to amount to thirty thousand. He has enriched his work with most learned prolegomena, and a clear and accurate description of his manuscripts. He took the third edition of Stephens for his text. He shews the highest reverence for the Vulgate, but thinks slightly of the Alexandrine manuscript,



nuscript. His work formed a new æra in Biblical criticism. It was reprinted by Ludolph Kuster, at Rotterdam, in 1710, with the readings of twelve additional manuscripts. While sacred criticism lasts, his learning, indefatigable industry, and modest candour, will be spoken of with the highest praise.

The edition of *John Albert Bengel*, Abbot of Alpirspack, in the dutchy of Wurtemberg, was published in 1734. He prefixed to it his "*Introductio in Crisin Novi Testamenti*;" and subjoined to it his "*Apparatus Criticus & Epilogus*." He altered the text, where he thought it might be improved; but, except in the Apocalypse, he studiously avoided inserting in the text any reading, which was not in some printed edition. Under the text he placed some select readings, reserving the whole collection of various readings, and his own sentiments upon them, for his *Apparatus Criticus*. He expressed his opinion of these marginal readings by the Greek letters,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ , and  $\epsilon$ .  $\alpha$  denotes, that he held the reading to be genuine;  $\beta$ , that he thought its genuineness was not absolutely certain, but that the reading appeared to him preferable to that in the text;  $\gamma$ , that the reading in the margin was of equal value with the reading in the text;  $\delta$ , that the marginal reading seemed of less value; and  $\epsilon$ , that he thought it absolutely spurious, though some critics defended it. Several small editions of Bengel's New Testament have  
been

been published in Germany. His "*Gnomon*," which is a collection of explanatory notes upon the New Testament, does not give a very high notion of his own intelligence of the sacred book.

All former editions of the Greek Testament were surpassed by that of *John James Wetstein*; of which it is sufficient to mention, that Michaelis, his professed enemy, and who loses no opportunity of speaking harshly of him, says, that it is of all editions of the Greek Testament the most important, and the most necessary to those, who are engaged in sacred criticism: and, that the Rev. Herbert Marsh, the celebrated translator of Michaelis, and, perhaps, the best judge now living of the merits of such a work, calls it by the emphatic appellation, of the Invaluable Book. It was published in two volumes folio, in 1751, at Amsterdam. Wetstein thinks slightly, not to say, contemptuously (unfortunately contemptuous expressions were too familiar to him), both of the Latin Vulgate and the Alexandrine manuscript. He adopted for his text the *editio recepta* of the Elzevirs. His collection of various readings far surpasses that of Mill or Bengel. His notes are particularly valuable, for the copious extracts he has made from the Rabbinical writers. These greatly serve to explain the idiom and turn of expression used by the Apostolic writers and Evangelists. The editions of his *Prolegomena* and of his *Libelli ad Crisim atque Interpretationem*

*pretationem Novi Testamenti*, by Dr. Semler, are a mine of recondite and curious Biblical learning. After every deduction is made from the merit of his edition, on account of the supposed Arianism and intemperate spirit of the author, much, very much will remain, that deserves the highest praise.

The acknowledged merit of Wetstein's edition excited a general spirit of emulation among the writers of Germany. The first, in time, as in eminence, was Dr. *John James Griesbach*, whose edition of the New Testament was first published in 1775—1777, in two volumes octavo, at Halle. In this last year (1796), the first volume has been reprinted, under the patronage, and at the expence of his Grace the Duke of Grafton. It has extracts from two hundred manuscripts, in addition to those quoted in the former edition. He has collated all the Latin versions published by Sabatier and Blanchini. His object is to give a select and choice collection of the various readings, produced by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, and of his own extracts, omitting all such as are trifling in themselves, supported by little authority, or evidently only errata. Griesbach's edition is the text book, used by the students in the German Universities. Most probably, like Heyne's Virgil, it will become the general book of scholars, masters, and literati. Previously to his publication of his edition of the Greek Testament,

Griesbach published his *Synopsis*. It was printed in 8vo. in 1774, under the title, *Libri Historici Novi Testamenti*. In the year following the copies, then remaining unfold of the very same work, were given the title *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ*. A second and improved edition of it was printed last year, at Halle, in 8vo. Dr. Griesbach has likewise undertaken to publish an edition in 8vo. and another in 4to. (the letter of the quarto edition in Didot's types,) of the New Testament, with a selection from the larger work, of such various readings as are considered in that work to be better than, or at least equal to, the received text.

The last critical edition of the Gospels in Greek was printed at Oxford, in 1798, by Professor White. It is a small 8vo. very elegantly and correctly printed. The editor abstains from all alterations whatever of the commonly received text; but at the same time, following the example of Origen, in his Hexaplar edition of the LXX, contrives likewise to exhibit distinctly to the reader's eyes, all those variations found in ancient MSS. which Dr. Griesbach considers of authority either *superior* or *equal* to the common text.

In 1786, *Professor Alter* published at Vienna, in two volumes 8vo, *Codex Lambecii*, 1, in the Imperial library,  
and



and thence styled by him the *Codex Vindobonensis*. He has corrected it occasionally from the edition published by Robert Stephens in 1546, subjoining, at the end of each volume, a list of these corrections, under the title of *Vitia Codicis Vindobonensis*: he has added the various readings from many Greek manuscripts, from the Coptic and Slavonian versions, and from two Latin versions in the Imperial library.

To the foregoing editions must be added the *Quatuor Evangelia Græca, cum variantibus lectionibus a textu Codd. MSS. Bibliothecæ Vaticana, Barberina, Laurentina, Vindobonensis, Escurialensis, Hauniensis regiae, quibus accedunt lectiones versionum Syrarum, veteris, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana, jussu et sumptibus regiis, edidit Andreas Birch. Hauniae, 1788, fol. et 4to*. This is a noble fruit of royal munificence. Professors Birch, and Moldenhawer, were employed, and their expences defrayed, by the present king of Denmark, to travel into Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, to collate the manuscripts of the sacred text. The work now under consideration is their united labours. The text is that of Mill. The edition is particularly valuable, for the large extracts from the Codex Vaticanus. Professor Birch has since published at Copenhagen, a collection of various readings to the Acts, Epistles, and Evangelists, from several manuscripts, particularly the Vatican; but

they are not accompanied with the Greek text, as his various readings to the Gospels were. For the manuscripts used by Blanchini, see Semler's Appendix to Wetstein, 635—638.

It remains only to take notice of the edition of the Greek Testament, published by *Matthai*, formerly Professor in Moscow, now in Wittemberg, with various readings from the Moscow manuscripts, the Vulgate from a Demedovian manuscript, many remarks, Greek scholia, and copper-plates representing the characters of his Greek manuscripts. Michaelis says the author was an age behind the rest of Germany in sacred criticism, but pronounces his work absolutely necessary for every Biblical critic.

There are many other respectable editions of the Greek Testament; but those we have mentioned are confessedly the principal. The editions by Erasmus, with a slight intermixture of the edition in the Complutensian Polyglot, are the principal editions, from which almost all the subsequent editions have been taken. This, Dr. Griesbach, in his excellent prolegomena, has placed beyond controversy. "All the modern editions," says he, "follow that of the Elzevirs; that was taken from the edition of Beza, and the third of Robert Stephens; Beza copied the third of Robert Stephens, except in some places, where

“ where he varied from it arbitrarily, and without suffi-  
 “ cient authority. The third of Stephens immediately fol-  
 “ lows the fifth of Erasmus’s editions, except in a very  
 “ few places in the Apocalypse, where he preferred to it  
 “ the Complutensian edition. Erasmus formed the text  
 “ as well as he could from a small number of manuscripts,  
 “ and those of a recent date, and without further aid  
 “ than an interpolated edition of the Vulgate, and bad  
 “ editions of a few of the fathers.” The principal edi-  
 tions, in which Erasmus and the Complutensians have not  
 been followed, are those of Colinæus, Mr. Bowyer, Dr.  
 Harwood, Professor Alter, and Griesbach. It were great-  
 ly to be wished that some person would collect and pub-  
 lished together, with such observations and illustrations as  
 the subject occasionally requires, the various prolegomena  
 of Walton, Mill, Wettstein, and Griesbach; the contro-  
 versy between Erasmus and the Spanish divines, and Lee,  
 and the Prefaces of Kennicott, Kipling, and Woide; with  
 a succinct, but complete, account of the chief manu-  
 scripts and printed editions of the sacred text. In such a  
 collection a place should be allowed to some of Dr. Camp-  
 bell’s Preliminary Dissertations, and to some of Dr. Mack-  
 night’s Preliminary Essays: and to some parts of a work  
 lately published in London, “ *Introductio ad sacram Scrip-*  
 “ *turam juxta exemplar Cædomi editum, recognitum et auc-*  
 “ *tum,*” where every subject of Scriptural literature is  
 treated

treated according to the prevailing notions of the Sorbonists, with great precision, clearness, and elegance.

## XII.

It seems necessary to take some notice OF THE VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO THE MODERN GREEK. As the circumstances respecting the separation of the Greek Church from the Church of Rome, and the present state of the Greek Church, are interesting and not generally known, it may not be unacceptable to the reader, to be presented with a detail of them.

XII. 1. The progress of the church of Constantinople, from a very humble station to the eminent rank she afterwards obtained in the Christian hierarchy, is a very curious and important event in ecclesiastical history. Before the seat of the Roman empire was transferred to Constantinople, the Church had the three Patriarchs of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. Three dioceses were independent of them, and were subject, each to its primate; that of Asia, to the primate of Ephesus; that of Thrace, to the primate of Heraclea: and that of Pontus, to the primate of Cæsarea. It is not clear, that the Church of Constantinople had her peculiar bishop; at most, the bishoprick was inconsiderable, and its bishop subject to the metropolitan of Heraclea.

After



After the translation of the seat of empire to Constantinople, the bishops of Constantinople acquired importance; by degrees, they obtained ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and were elevated to the rank of patriarch. The same rank was conferred on the bishop of Jerusalem. Thus, for a considerable period of time, the five patriarchs of the Christian world, were those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. In the course of time, the patriarch of Constantinople raised himself above the other oriental patriarchs, and finally assumed the title of Œcumenical or Universal Patriarch. The popes opposed this attempt, preserved their own rights; and therefore, as Mr. Gibbon observes, “till the great division of the Church, the Roman bishop had ever been respected by the orientals, as the first of the five patriarchs.” Vol. vi. [p. 409. quarto edition.]

Even in matters of ceremony in civil concerns, Constantinople yielded to Rome: the consul of the west preceded the consul of the east. After the separation of the Greek from the Latin Church, the five patriarchs were represented by five Churches in Rome: the Roman patriarchate, by the Church of St. John of Lateran; the patriarchate of Constantinople, by the Church of St. Peter, in the Vatican; the patriarchate of Alexandria, by the  
Church

Church of St. Paul; the patriarchate of Antioch, by the Church of St. Mary the Greater; and the patriarchate of Jerufalem, by the Church of St. Laurence. See Onuphrius de Episcopatibus, titulis et diaconiis Cardinalium.

The points, which the Greeks objected to the Latin Church, and upon which they professed to justify their separation from her, were, 1st, that in the article of the symbol or creed of Constantinople, which mentions the procession of the Holy Ghost, the Latin Church inserted the word "*filioque*," to describe the double procession of the Spirit from the Father and Son; 2dly, that the Latin Church acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Pope; and 3dly, that in the consecration at the sacrifice of the altar, the Latin Church used unleavened bread. The history of the temporary reunion of the Churches at the council of Florence is well known.—The attempts, which, about the middle of the sixteenth century, were set on foot, to lead the Greeks of the Levant to a reunion with the see of Rome, and the successful exertions of Cyrillus Lucaris, the patriarch of Constantinople, to prevent it, are also known: but a full and judicious history of them appears to be wanting.

XII. 2. Wherever the Turkish empire extends, the Greek Church is in a state of subjection; but, in an immense

menſe part of the globe, as both the Ruſſias, Georgia, Circaſſia, Mingrelia, Æthiopia, and the iſlands in the Mediterranean belonging to the Venetians, the Greek Church is the Church of the ſtate. Even in his preſent condition of degradation, the patriarch of Conſtantinople holds his pre-eminence over every other prelate of the Greek Church. Mr. Dallaway obſerves, that “ ſince the cloſe of the fixteenth century, the Ruſſian Church has claimed a ju-“ riſdiction independent of the ſee of Conſtantinople; “ nevertheless, appeals have been made to that ſee, in “ caſes of extraordinary importance.” This is confirmed “ by Mr. King, in his, “ Rites and Ceremonies of the “ Greek Church in Ruſſia.” Thus, ever ſince the ſepa-ration of the Churches, each of the two prelates, the biſhop of Rome and the patriarch of Conſtantinople, has been the centre of a different ſyſtem.

XII. 3. Though Conſtantine transferred the ſeat of the Roman empire to Conſtantinople, he did not impoſe on the new capital, or the adjacent territory, the Roman language: but, from the multitude of his Latin followers, and attendants on his court, many Latin phraſes, and even Latin words, were inſenſibly introduced into the language of the country. A ſimilar effect muſt have been produced by the Venetian and French conqueſts of Conſtantinople, and the ſettlements made in different parts of the empire,

by a large number of Crusaders, who, either in their passage to the Holy Land, or on their return from it, must, from a multitude of causes, have established themselves in Constantinople, or the adjacent countries. A similar effect, but in a greater degree, was necessarily produced by the conquests of the Turks. These circumstances have produced almost a new language. It is called *ROMEIKA*, and bears the same resemblance to the ancient Greek, as the Italian to the Latin, the Coptic to the *Ægyptian*, the Syriac to the Arabic, or the Rabbinical to the ancient Hebrew. Between the classical writers in the ancient language of Greece and the Byzantine historians, the difference is striking; yet, in the writings of the latter, nothing of the *Romeika* is discoverable. Probably till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the ancient Greek, with some debasement, was the language of the whole of the eastern empire, of government, religion, and literature. To the monastic communities of the Greeks, even in the present degraded state of that country, sacred learning, and particularly Biblical literature, have great obligations. Hopes are entertained, that some of the various monasteries of Greek religious, which still exist in many parts of the European, African, and Asiatic dominions of the Turks, contain Biblical treasures of high value. Of these monasteries none are more famous than those on mount Athos, a ridge of mountains near the Gulph of

Contessa



Contessa in Macedonia. One of the mountains is considerably higher than the others; and to that, the appellation of mount Athos is often exclusively applied. The monasteries are twenty-four in number, and are supposed to contain together four thousand religious. The severity of their lives, and their incessant prayer, are mentioned by every traveller. They are held by all the Greek Church in the highest esteem, and its dignitaries are often chosen from among them. It seems to be agreed, that the famous Alexandrine manuscript comes from one of these monasteries. A small number of manuscripts of equal value would be an inestimable treasure. But these expectations are very much damped by the account given by father Siccard, of the result of his researches in different monasteries in Egypt.

XII. 4. Mr. Simon, in his Critical History of the New Testament, Part II. ch. xx. observes, that, “although the  
“Greeks have not spoken their antient Greek tongue for  
“some years, as being no longer understood by the people,  
“nevertheless they have not composed, even to this present time, *any translation of the Bible in the vulgar Greek.*”  
The first translation of the New Testament was printed at Geneva in one volume 4<sup>to</sup>, in 1638, in two columns, one containing the antient, the other containing the modern Greek. It was published at the expence of the United

Provinces, upon the solicitation of Cornelius Haga, their Ambassador at Constantinople, by certain Greeks inclining, as Mr. Simon supposes, to Calvinism. That writer assures us, that it is one of the most exact and judicious translations that have been composed in the latter ages. But from those, for whose use it was designed, it met with no favour. "Si quæras," says Largius, in his dissertation on this edition, "in quo pretio hæc versio sit Græcis habita, omnino respondentum fuerit, pretium vix adeo magnum illam fuisse consecutam in Græcia." Helladius, cited by Masch, has a remark on the fate of this version, which deserves attention. "If," he observes, the effect of the version should "be to supersede entirely the antient text, it were greatly "to be feared, that the Greeks at large would fall into "complete barbarism; the sacred Scripture in the antient "Greek being the only means they have, by which, as an "easy road, they can arrive at the intelligence of other "authors, particularly the holy fathers." A new edition of the former translation, but with some alteration, was published at London, in 1703, in one volume 12<sup>mo</sup>, by Seraphin, a monk of Mitylene. He prefixed to it a Preface, which gave offence to the Greek bishops, particularly the patriarch of Constantinople. By his order it was committed to the flames: this had made the copies of this edition extremely rare. It was reprinted in 1705. In that edition, the passages in the Preface objected to by the Greek prelates

prelates were omitted. A more correct edition of it was printed at Halle, in Saxony, in 1710, in one volume 12<sup>mo</sup>, under the patronage, and at the expence, of Sophia Louisa, the Queen of Prussia. Different parts of the New Testament have been translated, at different times, into the modern Greek; some of them by the Jews. The Greeks have an old translation of the Psalter. The authors to be consulted on this subject are, Joh. Mich. Langius, *Philologia Barbaro-Græca*, Norimbergæ, 1708, 4<sup>to</sup>, and Alexander Helladius, *Status Præsens Ecclesiæ Græcæ*.

## XIII.

XIII. 1. Among the ORIENTAL VERSIONS the *Syriac* claims the first place, from the immense territory where it is spoken, having always been the language of learning, and of the higher orders of life, from the mountains of Assyria to the Red-Sea. The inhabitants of Syria must be divided into the descendants of those inhabitants of the country, who were conquered by the Greeks of the Lower Empire; the Greeks, or the descendants of the Greek conquerors; and the present rulers of the country, the Ottoman Turks. The Greeks must be subdivided into those, who are separated from the Church of Rome; the Latin Greeks, or those who are reunited to that Church; and the Maronites. The latter have their name from a monk called Maron, and  
profess

profess to have kept inviolate the orthodoxy of their religious credence. That Nestorianism gained some ground among them is probable; but there seems reason to suppose, that the body at large preserved their integrity. They occupy, almost exclusively, the country from the ridge of mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli. Mr. Volney computes their population at more than one hundred and fifteen thousand persons. They acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope; they are governed by a patriarch; he assumes the title of patriarch of Antioch: his residence is at Canubin, a monastery celebrated for its high antiquity. They have many bishops, and many convents. All the ceremonies of religion are performed among them without restraint; and their chapels have bells, a thing unheard of in any other part of Turkey. The mass is celebrated in Syriac; but the Gospel is read aloud in Arabic. There is an Hospitium for them at Rome, where many of the youth receive a gratuitous education. It has produced some scholars of distinction; particularly the celebrated Assemannis, to whom sacred literature is under great obligations. While the Syriac language was spoken, it was distinguished into three dialects; the Aramean, which was the dialect of Edeffa, Haran, and Mesopotamia; that of Palestine, which was the dialect of Damascus, the Lebanon, and the internal part of Syria; and the Nabathæan Chaldee, spoken in the mountains of Assyria, and the Irak: but it has ceased

to



to be a spoken language; so that, except in the proceedings of government, where the Turkish language is used, the language of Syria is the Arabic.

The most antient of the Syriac versions of the sacred text is called, the *Peshito*, or the literal; it is in general use among the Syriac Christians. It was first made known in Europe, by Moses of Marden, who was sent by Ignatius, patriarch of the Maronite Christians, in the year 1552, to pope Julius the III<sup>d</sup>, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. It was first printed at Vienna, in 1555. It has been since reprinted: the best edition is that of Leyden, in 1709, reprinted in 1717. Its readings coincide most remarkably with those of the Vulgate; which seems to afford a conclusive argument in favour of the antiquity of both the versions. It certainly was made before the fourth, and there are arguments to shew it was made at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century. There are more modern Syriac versions; the principal of which is the *Philoxenian* version. Dr. Ridley wrote a treatise on it. Dr. White, whose Bampton Lectures have obtained the applause of every man of taste, and extorted the praise even of Mr. Gibbon, published the four Gospels in this version, with a Latin translation and notes, in 1778, in two volumes 4<sup>to</sup>. The remaining part of the Philoxenian version, consisting of the Acts and Epistles, making likewise

wise two volumes in 4<sup>to</sup>. has been lately printed at the Doctor's own press for greater accuracy, and since delivered to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, to be by them reprinted for publication: one volume of which is already finished, and the other is stated to be in great forwardness.

XIII. 2. The Copts, according to Mr. Volney, are the descendants of that mixture of Egyptians, Persians, and, above all, Greeks, who, under the Ptolemies and Constantines, were long in possession of Egypt. In the disputes which arose in the Church respecting the second person of the Trinity, the Nestorians maintained, that as there were two natures, there must be two persons in Jesus Christ. Eutyches, falling into the opposite extreme, contended, that as in Jesus Christ there was but one person, there consequently was but one nature. The council of Chalcedon condemned the doctrine of Eutyches: some of the Emperors persecuted, some were favourable to the Eutychians. Among the former were, Justin the II<sup>d</sup>, Tiberius, and Maurice: their attempts to destroy Eutychianism might have succeeded, if it had not been for a monk of the name of James, who, with unwearied industry and address, supported the cause of Eutychianism. Thus Egypt was divided into two parties. Those, who in imitation of the Emperor, submitted to the decrees of the council of Chalcedon,

cedon, were called Melchites or Royalists, from Melek, an Arabian word, that signifies king: those who resisted the decrees of the council, were, from the leader of their party, called Jacobites, which the Saracens shortened into the word Cophites. Except their errors respecting the second person of the blessed Trinity, there is little that distinguishes them from the general body of Roman Catholics. But their aversion for the Roman Catholics is great, and they constantly brand them with the name of Nestorians. They are governed by a patriarch. He has under him eleven or twelve bishops, and several priests or deacons. His residence is at Grand Cairo. The monasteries of St. Paul, St. Anthony, and St. Macarius, are subject to him. The two first are in the Lower Thebaide; the last is in the desert of Sceté. A very interesting account is given by father Sicard, in the fifth volume of the new edition of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, of these celebrated monasteries. Several families of the Cophites reside in the Delta; but the greatest part of them inhabit the Saide, or the part of Egypt extending from Cairo upwards to Assouan or Syene. In 639, the Cophites invited the Saracens into Egypt; and, in return, were for some time treated kindly by them. But afterwards, the Saracens made no distinction between them and their other Greek subjects. About the end of the fifth century of the Hegira, the Caliph Walid I. prohibited the Greek tongue throughout his whole empire. From that time the

Coptic, like the other languages of the nations subdued by the Saracens, ceased to be a spoken language: but it has been preserved in the Scriptures and books of devotion. Mr. Volney observes, that “the form of the Coptic letters, and the greater part of their words, demonstrate, that the Greek nation, during the thousand years it continued in Egypt, has left deep marks of its power and influence. But, on the other hand, the Coptic alphabet has five letters, and the language a number of words, which may be considered as the remains of the antient Egyptian.” Its last existence was among the rude peasants of the Nile. The hopes that valuable manuscripts might be discovered in some of the Coptic monasteries, are not encouraged by the accounts given of these monasteries, by father Sicard.

The Coptic version was printed with a Latin translation at Oxford, in 1716, by David Wilkins, a native of Memel in Prussia. The editor of Ernesti's *Institutio* fixes its age at the fifth century: he says, that it contains several excellent readings, coinciding in general with those of the Alexandrine fathers. The indefatigable industry of the moderns has discovered a version yet in manuscript, called the *Sahidic* version, from its being in the language of the nation which inhabits the Upper Egypt, or the part which lies between Cahera and Assiuan, called in Arabic, Said. It is supposed



supposed by Dr. Woide to have been made in the second century. Some parts of it have been published: the whole of the fragments of the version is printed at the Clarendon Press, and will soon be published by Dr. Ford.

XIII. 3. The first name, by which we know *Æthiopia* in history, is Lud. It is the name given to it by Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezechiel. About the time when the Israelites quitted Egypt, a nation of blacks, who dwelt on the banks of the Indus, and are called Chusites in the Old Testament, established a powerful empire in the African Lydia, and called it *Æthiopia*. Towards the end of the reign of Constantine the Great, they were conquered by the Abyssinians, who came from the southern part of the Happy Arabia, and were called Homerites; Saba was the capital of the kingdom. The Queen, whom Solomon's wisdom attracted to Palestine, was sovereign of that country. They were converted to Christianity in the fourth century; and, towards the ninth, embraced the errors of Dioscorus, respecting the two natures of the second person of the blessed Trinity. The *Æthiopic* language, into which the translations of the Holy Writings were made, is the antient language of Abyssinia, not the language now in use. The language which it nearest resembles is the Arabic; but from that, and all the kindred languages of the east, it differs, as it is written from the left to the right hand, and

expresses the vowels by determinate characters, and not by points. The religion now established in the country is a mixture of Judaism, Christianity, and Heathenish superstition.

An *Æthiopic* version was published at Rome, in 1548 and 1549, from a defective copy; that, from which the *Æthiopic* version in the London Polyglot was printed, was still more defective.

XIII. 4. Armenia is divided between the Turks and the Persians. The greater part of it belongs to the former. Erzerom is its capital. Erevan is the capital of the Persian part. The Armenian alphabet is not earlier than the fourth century. Miesrob, minister of state and secretary to Warasdates and Arfaces the IVth, kings of Armenia, and contemporaries with Theodosius the II<sup>d</sup>, invented it; and to him the unanimous testimony of the Armenian writers ascribes the translation of their Scriptures. In the thirteenth century, the Churches of the Lesser Armenia and Cilicia submitted to the Pope: and Haitho, their king, became a Franciscan friar. He published a new edition of the Armenian Bible. It is asserted, that he made the antient text conform throughout to the Latin Vulgate. This is a point of the utmost importance in Biblical criticism: but probably it will remain in uncertainty, till the discovery of a copy  
of

of the version prior to the time of Haitho. Should such a manuscript be discovered, and should there appear a general conformity between it and the Latin Vulgate, then, as the antiquity of the Armenian version is unquestionable, and there is great reason to suppose it was executed with great care and skill, the value of each of the versions, and particularly that of the Latin Vulgate, will be considerably increased.

An *Armenian* version was printed at Amsterdam, 1666, in quarto; an edition in octavo was printed there in 1668. The former includes both the Old and New Testament; the latter contains the New Testament only. An edition in that language of the New Testament was published in duodecimo, in 1698.

XIII. 5. The language of the Arabs was, during several ages, confined within the country: it was spread by the Mahometans over all the countries that were conquered by their arms; and thus, from the gulph of Arabia, it was spoken as far as Portugal on the west, and India on the east. It must be ranked among the most ancient languages; and excels all languages in copiousness. It is of the utmost use in Biblical criticism.

An

An *Arabic* version of the four Gospels was published at Rome in 1590, 1591. It was printed with a version of the remaining books of the New Testament, in the Paris and London Polyglots. Erpenius published the Arabic New Testament at Leyden, in 1616, from a manuscript written in the Upper Egypt, in the year 1342. The Roman congregation *de propagandâ fide* published, in 1671, an Arabic and Latin Bible, under the inspection of Sergius Rifiſius, Biſhop of Damascus. The English ſociety for promoting Chriſtian knowledge published, in 1727, an Arabic New Testament, for the uſe of the Chriſtians in Aſia. Ten thouſand copies were printed of this edition. But none of theſe editions, nor any manuſcript, that has yet been diſcovered, is of any importance in Biblical criticism, as no ſatisfactory evidence has yet been produced of their antiquity. The general opinion is, that none of them are earlier than the age of Mahomet.

XIII. 6. While the ancient empire of *Perſia* ſubſiſted, Perſia had a language of her own. In the courſe of time it became ſucceſſively ſubject to the Greeks, the Romans, the Saracens, and the Turks; and each of them introduced ſome alterations into the language of the Perſians. The modern language of Perſia is a mixture of all; but the Arabic and Turkiſh predominate. A *Perſic* version of the four Gospels is printed in the London Polyglot. A new tranſlation



lation of it was printed by Professor Bode at Helmstadt, in 1750, 1751, with a Preface, containing historical and critical remarks on the Perfic versions. Another Perfic version was printed in London. It has two title pages, the one by Wheloc, dated 1652, the other by Pierfone, dated 1657. These versions are thought to be translations from the Syriac, so that their chief use is in ascertaining the readings of that version.

XIII. 7. Ernesti in his *Institutio* says, that Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths, translated the New Testament into the *Gothic* language, in the fourth century: and that this version is supposed to be the version of the Gospels, which was published at Dordrecht, in 1665, by Junius and Marschall; at Amsterdam, in 1684; by Stiernhielm at Stockholm, in 1672; and at Oxford, in 1750, by Edward Lye. The last edition was prepared for the press by Benzels, archbishop of Upsal: but, as he died before the work could be sent to the press at Upsal, where it was to have been printed, the care of the impression was intrusted to Lye at Oxford. The *Codex Argenteus* is written on vellum: the letters are silver, except the initials, which are gold. It has been much doubted, whether the version should be called Gothic or Francic, and whether it were taken from the Greek or the Latin: but Michaelis seems to prove that it is a Gothic version.

XIII. 8. The *Russian* or *Slavonian* version was made from the Greek. The most ancient copy of the whole Bible, in the Russian language, was written in the year 1499, in the time of the Grand Duke Wasiljewitch. But of the New Testament there are copies of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. A still more ancient manuscript of the New Testament was given by the Czar Iwan Wasiljewitch to Garabunda, secretary to the dutchy of Lithuania; it was written in the time of the Grand Duke Wladimir, who reigned from 972 to 1015. The oldest printed edition is that of Prague, in 1519. It has been since printed at Ostrog, in 1581; at Moscow, in 1663, 1751, 1756, 1757, 1766, in folio; in 1759, in large octavo; and at Kiow, in 1758, in folio. Copies and accurate extracts have been given from this version by Professor Alter [in his edition of the Greek Testament, 8vo. Vienna, 1787.]

## XIV.

To obtain an accurate notion of what is called THE LATIN VULGATE TRANSLATION of the Scriptures, it is necessary to enquire into the nature of the Latin versions, made before the time of St. Jerom, particularly the version called the *Vetus Italica*; and to consider the different versions published by St. Jerom, as they came immediately from

from his hands, as they were corrupted in the middle ages, and as they have been corrected and promulgated by papal authority.

XIV. 1. Two passages in different parts of the works of St. Augustine clearly shew the nature of the *Vetus Italica*, and the other Latin versions, *prior to the time of St. Jerom.* In his treatise de Doctrinâ Christianâ, Lib. II. cap. xi. St. Augustine says, "that the number of those, who had translated the Scriptures from the Hebrew into the Greek, might be computed; but that, the number of those, who had translated the Greek into Latin, could not. For immediately upon the first introduction of Christianity, if a person got possession of a Greek manuscript, and thought he had any knowledge of the two languages, he set about translating the Scriptures." In another part of his works, Lib. ii. cap. xv, he says, "*in ipsis interpretationibus Italica ceteris præferatur nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ.*" It should seem difficult to mistake the import of these expressions, yet they have given rise to much controversy. One side, with a view to rob the Vulgate of all pretension, even to a remote affinity to the translation pointed at by St. Augustine, in this place, has, in stern defiance of all manuscripts, and all printed editions, proposed to read "*illa*" for "*Italica*;" and (to make sense and grammar of

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the passage, of which the alteration in question, if it were to stand alone, would totally bereave it) to substitute “quæ” for “nam,”—an emendation, certainly, not of the gentlest touch. The other side, to exalt the Vulgate, has supposed it may be fairly inferred from the passage in St. Augustine, that there was a version, which having been first factioned by the Roman pontiff, was received by the whole Latin Church, and was generally used in the service of the Church. But this is carrying his words much beyond their natural import, and is an unjustifiable attempt to raise, as the other is to depress, the real dignity and merit of the Vulgate. The high terms of commendation, in which St. Augustine expresses himself by the *Vetus Italica*, have raised a general wish, that it should be discovered and published. The first publication of the kind is that of Flaminius Nobilius, printed at Rome in 1588, in one volume folio, under the auspices of Sixtus Quintus. In 1695, Dom Martianay, the learned editor of the works of St. Jerom, published at Paris, in octavo, what he supposed was the *Vetus Italica* of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and of St. James’s Epistle. In 1743, Peter Sabatier published at Rheims, in three large volumes folio, his “*Bibliorum sacrorum Latina versiones antiquæ, seu vetus Italica, et cætæ quæcumque in codicibus manuscriptis et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt, quæ cum vulgatâ Latinâ et cum textu Græco comparantur.*” Where there were chasms in his manuscripts, he supplied them.



them from the Vulgate. He published a new edition of it in 1749—1751. The last publication of the kind is by Father Joseph Blanchini, an Oratorian; the title of his work is, “*Evangelistarium quadruplex Latina versionis anti-  
 “ quæ, seu veteris Italicæ, ex codicibus manuscriptis aureis,  
 “ argenteis, purpureis, aliisque plusquam millenariæ antiqui-  
 “ tatis, Romæ,*” 1748, two volumes large folio. It contains five, or rather four, manuscripts of a Latin version. In many places they differ; and Blanchini’s arguments, that the differences are merely errors of the transcribers, are by no means conclusive. It seems generally believed, that there are four distinct versions. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by several learned dissertations, and curious plates. The various citations made in the Gospel by Christ, the Apostles, and Evangelists, of passages in the Old Testament, are brought together, as they stand in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the old Italic, with a view of ascertaining the important and much contested point, whether Christ, the Apostles, and the Evangelists, cited them from the Hebrew or the version of the Seventy. It was printed at the expence of the king of Portugal, at the instigation of Cardinal Corfini, and, till Dr. Kennicott’s Collation appeared, was thought the most splendid work that had issued from the press, during the present century. It is most earnestly wished, that a new edition was published in such a form, as would make

the price of it more suitable to the generality of readers. A Latin translation, perhaps anterior to that of St. Jerom, is published by Dr. Kipling, with the Codex Bezae. That this and the other translations may be anterior to St. Jerom, all allow; that any one of them is the *Vetus Italica*, no satisfactory evidence, no convincing argument, has yet been produced: but there is reason to suppose, that in the generality of these versions, there is more of the *Vetus Italica*, than of any other.

XIV. 2. The great multiplicity of versions, and the confusion which prevailed among them, were the motives, which first urged St. JEROM to his *Biblical labours*. He began by correcting the Psalms; but the people at large, being accustomed to their old version, could not be induced to lay it aside, in favour of St. Jerom's. He therefore published another edition. In this he made few alterations in the text itself, but shewed, by obeluses and asterisks, where it differed from the Septuagint, or the Hebrew. From this last edition, and the old Italic, is formed the Vulgate edition of the Psalms, which is now used in the Roman Catholic Church. St. Jerom's original correction of the Psalms never came into public use. On the same plan, on which he made that correction, he corrected also the Proverbs of Solomon, the Ecclesiastes, the Canticum Canticorum, the book of Job, and the Paralipomena. He afterwards undertook,

dertook, and executed with the greatest applause, a complete version into Latin of all the Old Testament. He translated also the New Testament from the Greek into the Latin. This translation, made by St. Jerom, of the Old Testament from the Hebrew (including the books of Judith and Tobit, which he translated from the Chaldee), and of the New Testament from the Greek, is the origin or stock of our present Vulgate, except with respect to the Psalms; which, we have observed, rests on St. Jerom's second edition of the old translation. The genuine version of St. Jerom, from a beautiful manuscript at Paris, was published there, in 1693, by Dom Martianay, and Dom Pouget, under the title, "S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonens. Presbyteri Operum Tom. I. seu Divina Bibliotheca antehac inedita, complectens Translationes Latinas V. et N. Testamenti, cum ex Hebræis tum e Græcis fontibus derivatas, innumera quoque scholia marginalia antiquissimi Hebræi cujusdam scriptoris anonymi, Hebræas voces pressius exprimentis. Prodit e vetustissimis MSS. codicibus Gallicanis, Vaticanis, &c. Studio et labore Monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri. Parisiis apud Ludov. Boulland 1693, fol." St. Jerom's version had the fate of many considerable works of genius. It had warm advocates, particularly among the truly learned; and violent enemies, particularly among the ignorant. By degrees its merit was universally acknowledged, and it almost universally superseded every other version. Such was the Vulgate

gate translation, as it came originally from the hands of St. Jerom.

XIV. 3. It did not escape the general fate of manuscripts *during the middle age*. Partly by the mistakes or errors of transcribers, partly by corrections made by unskilful persons, partly by alterations from the citations in the works of the fathers, and partly by insertions made in it by way of explanation, the text was exceedingly disfigured and corrupted in many places. One circumstance in particular introduced variations into every part of it. The old uncorrupted version was intermixed with it throughout. Cassiodorus, and after him Alcuin, used their utmost endeavours to restore the version to its pristine purity. The library of the College of Dominicans at Paris contained a manuscript copy of the Latin Bible, made in the thirteenth century, by some French religious of that order. It is comprised in four large volumes in folio, and is written on fine parchment, in the half Gothic letter. By a regulation of the general chapter of the order held in 1236, directions were given, that all the Bibles of the order should be corrected and made to conform to that copy: and at a general chapter, held in 1748, a transcript of it was ordered to be made by the Students in the noviciat. The labours of Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, in procuring correct copies, both of the Old and New Testament,



ment, are mentioned by Baronius, Cave, Dupin, and Westein. At the revival of letters, several persons of learning exerted themselves to procure a good edition of the Latin Vulgate. The chief editions of it published on this plan, are those of Robert Stephens, in 1540, 1545, and 1546; that of Hentenius, in 1547; and that of the Louvain divines, in 1573, chiefly conducted by Lucas Brugenſis.

XIV. 4. It was afterwards revised and promulgated by *papal authority*. The council of Trent took the state of the versions into consideration. It declared the antient and common edition should be considered the authentic edition; and that the Bible should be printed as correctly and as expeditiously as possible, principally according to the antient and Vulgate edition. In consequence of this, it was published by *Sixtus Quintus*, in 1590. He himself watched over the work with admirable attention and zeal; he perused every sheet, both before it was committed to the press, and after it was printed off. The principal persons employed in this edition were, Cardinal Caraffa, Flaminius Nobilius, Antonius Agellius, Petrus Morinus, and Angelus Rocca. But his edition scarcely made its appearance, before it was discovered to abound with errors. The copies therefore were called in, and a new edition was printed by *Clement* the VIIIth, his immediate successor, in 1592; and afterwards,

afterwards, with some variations, in 1593. The difference between the two papal editions is considerable. Dr. James, in his celebrated *Bellum Papale*, reckons two thousand instances, in which they differ; Father Henry de Bukentop, a Recollet, made a similar collection, but denied the consequences that Dr. James professed to draw from the variations. Lucas Brugensis has reckoned four thousand places, in which, in his opinion, the Bible of Clement the VIIIth may be thought to want correction. Cardinal Bellarmin, who had a principal part in the publication of the edition, praised his industry, and wrote to him, that those concerned in the work had not corrected it with the utmost accuracy, and that intentionally they had passed over many mistakes. “*Scias velim,*” says his eminence, “*Biblia vulgata non esse a*  
“*nobis accuratissime castigata: multa enim de industria, justis*  
“*de causis, pertransivimus.*” When it is examined critically, it evidently appears the work of several hands. A scrupulous adherence to the text is observable in most parts of it; but in some it is carried further than in others, and sometimes it apparently leads to barbarous expressions, and absolute solecisms; as *dominantur eorum—repleta sunt nuptiæ discumbentium—videns quoniam (for quod) illusus esset a Magis—noluit consolari—benedixit eos—ubi erugo et tineæ demolitur—edunt, for ediderunt fructus suos—illuminare his, quæ in tenebris,—nihil nos nocebit,—vapulabis multus.* Other accusations of solecisms or barbarisms of a similar nature might be produced.

duced. Many of these expressions are defended by Father Filescus, in his *Versio sacra Scriptura Latina Vulgata Defensa*, published at the end of Father Tournemine's edition of Menochius. At any rate they do not detract from its general merit. Not only Roman Catholics, but separatists from the Church of Rome, agree in its praise. It is universally allowed, that it does not suffer in a comparison with any other version. Dr. Mill, whose whole life was spent in the study of the manuscripts and printed editions of the original and the translations from it, professes the greatest esteem for it, and, in his choice of readings, defers considerably to it. Grotius speaks of it highly; Walton and Bengel praise it much. In his *Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions du Nouveau Testament*, Father Simon has pointed out its real merit. The Church of Rome treats it with the greatest veneration. Some divines have supposed it to be absolutely free from error, and that no one is at liberty to vary from it, in translation or exposition. This is going to an extreme: the Council of Trent, in pronouncing it to be authentic, did not pronounce it to be inspired or infallible: but where the dogmas of faith or morals are concerned, the Council must be considered to have pronounced it to be inerrant. In this decision every Roman Catholic must acquiesce, as he receives the Scripture from the Church, under her authority, and with her interpretation. See *Natalis Alexander, de Vulgatâ Scriptura versione, questio 5; utrum*

*et quo sensu Vulgata editio sit authentica; et quæstio 6, de sphalmatis et mendis quæ, in Vulgatâ versione Latinâ Bibliorum jussu Clementis VIII. emendatâ, etiamnum supersunt quæ ecclesiæ auctoritate corrigi possunt;* and a note in Fabricy, *Titres primitifs*, T. II. p. 164. and Father Mariana's *Dissertatio pro editione Vulgata*, published by Father Tournemine at the end of his edition of Menochius \*. Some Roman Catholic and even Protestant writers of eminence have contended, that, considering the present state of the Greek text, the Vulgate expresses more of the true reading of the originals, or autographs, of the sacred penmen, than any Greek edition that has yet appeared, or can now be framed.—There is no reason to suppose that any of the *autographs* existed in the third century. See *Griesbach, Historia Textus Epistolarum Pauli*. [4<sup>to</sup> Jenæ 1777] Various readings in the New Testament were noticed as soon as the time of St. Clement of Alexandria: he remarks the double reading of *ἰδυσάμενοι* and *ἐιδυσάμενοι*, in 2 Cor. v. 3. Oecumenius, who copied the antients, observes, that in 1 Cor. xv. 51. some manuscripts read *εὐ* before *ἀλλαγῆσόμεθα*, and omitted it before *κοιμηθήσόμεθα*.

## XV.

WE NOW COME TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

\* A treatise which proves our ancestors were further advanced in Biblical criticism than is generally thought.

XV. 1. There



XV. 1. There are many *Anglo-Saxon* versions of different parts of the Old and New Testament. The four Gospels were published by Mathew Parker, William Lisle, and Thomas Marshal, in the years 1571, 1638, and 1665. This last edition was printed at Dordrecht, with the Moeso-Gothic version, and reprinted at Amsterdam, in 1684. As the Anglo-Saxon version was evidently made from the version in use before St. Jerom's, it is much valued by those, who are curious after the readings of the old Italic.

XV. 2. The most ancient *English* translation is that of *Wickliff*. It was finished about the year 1367. It was revised by some of his followers. Both the original and revised translation are still extant in manuscript: the printed copies of it are not uncommon. The manuscript copies of the latter are more rare than the copies of the former.

XV. 3. The principal *printed editions* are, 1st, those of *Tyndal* and *Coverdale*; 2d, the *Genevan Bible*, or the translation made by the English, who fled to Geneva, to avoid the persecutions of Queen Mary; 3d, the *Episcopal* translation, made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, under the direction of Matthew Parker, the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury; 4th, *King James's Bible*:—It was printed in 1611, and is that which is at present used in all the British dominions; the original copy, with the manuscript corrections,

is in the Bodleian library; 5th, the English translations made by the *Roman Catholics*. The chief of these are, the *Rhemish Testament*, printed at Rheims in 1582. In the year 1589, Dr. Fulke, master of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, reprinted this translation, together with the Bishop's Bible, in two columns. It is a curious performance, and very much deserves the attention of those, who study the subjects in controversy between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, particularly such as turn on Scriptural interpretation. The *Doway Bible* is printed in two volumes quarto, in 1609, 1610. It is said to be made from "the authentic Latin." A new edition of it was published in five volumes octavo, in 1750, by the late Dr. Challoner. Besides these, a translation in two volumes large octavo was published at Doway, in the year 1730, by Dr. Witham. It is enriched with useful and concise notes.

## XVI.

It remains to observe a striking peculiarity of the Old and New Testament :—its division into CHAPTERS AND VERSES.

XV. 1. The division of the Hebrew text into *chapters* was made by the Jews, in imitation of the division of the New Testament into chapters. Their division of the Old Testament into *verses* was much more ancient, being probably

bably of the same date as their invention of the vowel points. Much of the labour of the Masorites was consumed in calculating the verses, and their literal peculiarities. Thus they discovered, that the verses in the book of Genesis amounted to 1534; that its middle verse was the fortieth of the twenty-seventh chapter; that the whole Bible contained twenty-three thousand two hundred and six verses; that there were two verses in the Pentateuch, all the words of which ended with a Mem; that there were three verses which consisted of eighty letters; that there were fourteen verses which consist of three words; twenty-six, which contain all the letters of the alphabet; one, which contains all the final letters, &c. &c.

XVI. 2. The ancients divided the New Testament into two kinds of *chapters*. The *τιτλοι*, or larger portions, are written either in the upper or lower margin, and generally in red ink; the *κεφαλαια*, or small portions, are numbered on the side of the margin. They are clearly represented in Erasmus's edition, and in R. Stephens's edition of 1550. These chapters differ in different copies. The most celebrated, and one of the most ancient divisions, was that of Ammonius. From him it had the appellation of the *Ammonian sections*. Eusebius retained them, and adapted to them his canons or tables. But by the example and influence of Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro, the old, division

sion was entirely laid aside in the Latin Church, and in Latin manuscripts: Greek manuscripts continued to be written with the old divisions to the end of the fifteenth century; when that in present use was adopted. Robert Stephens was the inventor of the *verses* into which the New Testament is now divided. The division into chapters is sometimes liable to objection. The division into verses is still more objectionable. But it is now too late to reject it. In most of the later editions of note, the text is continued, without any distinction of verses; but the verses are numbered in the margin.

XVI. 3. The *punctuation* of the Bible is a modern invention. In the ancient manuscripts no marks are found, except a point and a blank space. The comma was invented in the eighth century; the semicolon in the ninth; the other stops were discovered afterwards. The spirits and the accents are not earlier, in the opinion of most writers, than the seventh century.

#### XVII.

It should now be considered, WHETHER THE VARIOUS READINGS OF THE SACRED TEXT HAVE ANY INFLUENCE ON ITS PURITY OR AUTHENTICITY, OR IN ANY MANNER AFFECT ITS CLAIM TO DIVINE INSPIRATION. By the sacred  
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text we do not here understand, the autograph or original manuscript, as it was written or dictated by the holy Penmen, but the general text of the manuscripts and printed copies of it, which are in our possession.

XVII. 1. To discuss this, it is necessary to ascertain what are various readings, and to form an exact notion of their nature and number.

The best mode, perhaps, of ascertaining what a various reading is, will be, to shew what are not various readings, though generally inserted in the collections, which go under that appellation.

1st, A wilful alteration of the text is not a various reading. Wilful alterations are to be divided into those, which are designedly made for an improper purpose, as to impugn a truth acknowledged by the party himself; and those, which being well, but not wisely, meant, may be said to proceed from honest bigotry.

To alter the text with a bad design, is certainly an heinous offence against religion and truth: no person therefore should be charged with it, unless on the strongest evidence. In the heat of controversy, the charge has been often made, and seldom proved. Among other charges,

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which have been urged against the Jews, must be ranked that of falsifying the Hebrew text. But of this, St. Jerome (Comment on cap. vi. Isaïæ, Operum Tom. III, col. 64) and St. Augustine (de Civit. Dei, lib. xv. cap. xiii. Oper. Tom. VIII. col. 392), entirely acquit them. When the antient fathers appear to accuse them of it, they will be found, generally speaking, to charge them with corrupting the Septuagint, or wilfully translating the text; but not to charge them with altering the text itself. This Tryphon, in his Dialogue with St. Justin, professes to consider, as equally criminal with adoring the golden calf, consecrating children to idols, making children to pass through fire, or killing prophets. Where the alteration is made from honest motives, as from a notion of altering the text for the sake of improving it, if the alteration be held out by the person making it, as part of the exemplar, he is evidently guilty of deceit, and deserves, at least, that censure, to which pious frauds are justly obnoxious. Such are the alterations made by transcribers for the purpose of evading an objection made to a fact or sentiment expressed in the received text; as the alteration in the Codex Cantabrigiensis of *οὐκ ἀνακαίρω*, John vii. 8. into *οὐκ ἀνακαίρω*. But if the party himself confess the alteration, he may want discernment, yet he is free from criminality. Still further removed from criminality are those, who transcribing a version of the text, avowedly alter it in their transcript,

transcript, from a notion, that the substituted word more faithfully or more happily expresses the original. Such, in the Hebrew manuscripts, has frequently been the substitution of the Keri for the Ketibh; and, in the Latin versions, the generality of the alterations made in them during the middle ages.

2dly, A mistake or error of the transcriber is not a various reading.

It should be observed, that where custom allows of two modes of writing the same word, the differences of manuscripts in that respect are not to be classed among mistakes. This remark particularly applies to Hebrew manuscripts; where the vowel, diacritic, tonic, and extraordinary points, and quiescent letters, may often be inserted or omitted, at the writer's pleasure, without affecting even the pronunciation of the word; or, at least, without affecting more than its pronunciation.

It is observable, that all various readings so far are mistakes, as they originally proceed from them. Thus, let A be the autograph, B a copy made from A, C a copy made from B, D a copy made from C. Wherever, in these copies, B differs from A, C from B, or D from C, it is the mistake of B, C, and D: but if D copy an erratum of C,

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or c copy an erratum of B, D and c read in the text, from which they make their respective copies, the very word they copy: this therefore, in respect to them, is not a mistake, but a various reading. We have neither the autographs, nor the first transcripts, of the sacred text: the whole of our text is a transcript of a transcript. In every case, therefore, of a difference of reading, which comes before our consideration, the passage may be an erratum, and may be a mistake, as the copyist may have erred in his copy, or may have transcribed the error of another. Had we the exemplar, from which the copy was made, the fact would appear immediately; but, as we are not possessed of it, a question arises on all differing words or expressions, whether they are errata or various readings. A mere erratum, when it is ascertained to be such, is of no consequence. In numberless instances, it is difficult, and often impossible, to discover whether the difference be owing to the error, or the various reading, of the transcriber; but very frequently the error either proves itself, or appears on consideration. When errors appear as errors, they must be thrown out of the class of various readings.

3dly, Where two or more copies are made from the same exemplar, they form together but one evidence; and consequently, where their various readings agree, they are

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to be considered as existing in one manuscript only ; where they differ, and, from the want of the original, it cannot be ascertained which transcriber was guilty of mistake, both cannot be various readings : one only of them, therefore, can be a various reading.

4thly, No various readings are of any account, unless the manuscript, which contains them, be important, as carrying evident marks of antiquity, or of being made from a manuscript of antiquity.

5thly, No various readings are of any account, if the manuscript, which contains them, appear to be negligently transcribed, or the copyist appear to have intentionally taken the liberty of departing from the text.

6thly, No version can be offered in evidence of a various reading, unless it appear to be made with care, ability, and a strict adherence to the text, and from a valuable manuscript,

7thly, Quotations are the slenderest proofs of various readings, as they may have been made from memory and the text from which they are made is generally unknown, and the value of it, of course, unascertained.

From the general mass of various readings, we must, therefore, subtract those which are included in the classes above-mentioned: and thus very considerable deduction must be made from their supposed number.

XVII. 2. The question then is, which of the then remaining number of various readings are important; and what is their comparative importance. Here several observations occur.

1st, A large proportion of these remaining various readings arises from the mere transposition of words; and the greatest part, by far, of these transpositions do not, in any respect, alter the sense. The same may be said of a vast share of those various readings, which arise from the omission or insertion of words.

2dly, In other instances, however, and those considerable in number, the difference of reading has some influence on the sense of the text. But, most commonly, this is in respect of those readers only, who are versed in style and the synonymy of words, and who are sensible of every light and shade of expression. With the generality of readers, the difference we speak of neither excites a sentiment nor raises an idea, which the received text, however erroneous, in the given instances, does not equally produce. As to those readers, therefore (and they evidently form the general mass of

of mankind), the various readings last spoken of are of no consequence.

3dly, Of the ultimate remainder of various readings, some unquestionably are important. Thus, where in St. Matthew xxvii. 35. the Sixtine edition reads, "*Diviserunt vestimenta ejus sortem mittentes. Et sedentes servabant eum;*" the Clementine edition reads, "*Diviserunt vestimenta ejus, sortem mittentes, ut impleretur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem, Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.*" A difference, at least equally striking, is observable in that text of frequent use, "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*" As a discussion of the various readings of this celebrated verse may give the reader a notion of that part of Biblical criticism, which turns on the various readings of the text, we shall attempt something of the kind in this place.

The *Textus receptus*, as it is called, or the text of the common editions of the Greek Testament, is printed thus, "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εὐχέλῃ ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία." This rendered into Latin, gives, "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax in hominibus*" (or rather, *apud homines*) *bona voluntas.*" Another reading is that adopted in the edition of the Latin Vulgate, "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εὐχέλῃ ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας." "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*" A third reading is produced  
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by an alteration of the punctuation; omitting the comma after "*Deo*," and placing it after "*Terra*:" the sentence will then stand, "*Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra, pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*" Thus there are, at least, three readings of this important text; and to these must be added the reading in the Roman Liturgy, and some Latin manuscripts, of "*excelsis*" for "*altissimis*." But this is evidently a different version of the same word, and therefore does not affect the text. In each reading the sentence is most beautiful; in each, it is such as angels might sing, and heaven and earth rejoice to hear: but the sense of each is different. Now every person, to whom the Sacred Oracles are dear, must wish to have the true reading of the sentence, or the very words written by the Evangelist himself, ascertained,

To come at this, it must be observed, that the chief variations lie in the omission of the "*ι*" before "*ἀνθρώποις*," and in the case of the last word, whether it should be read "*ἐνδοξία*" in the nominative, or *ἐνδοξίας* in the genitive.

With respect to the preposition "*ι*," there can be no doubt, that the insertion of it is the genuine reading. There scarcely is an authority, worth mentioning, in favour of the omission. Erasmus says, that he saw one Greek manuscript, in which it was omitted; but neither Mill, Wetstein,

Griesbach,



Griesbach, Matthæi, Alter, nor any other collator, has discovered any manuscript, in which it is omitted. Therefore, supposing that Erasmus was not mistaken, and that a Greek manuscript, which he saw, really omitted the preposition “*ἐν*” before “*ἀνθρώποις*,” it is evident, that the omission is to be ascribed, either to an oversight in the transcriber, or, if it were a very modern Greek manuscript, to a designed alteration, out of respect for the Vulgate. But in neither supposition can the variation be opposed to the united evidence of between three and four hundred Greek manuscripts (for so many have been collated) of the Gospels. In all of these it is retained. Besides, the manuscript evidence referred to by Erasmus is anonymous, as we know nothing of the manuscript, in which he professes to have observed the omission. Further, though in the modern printed Vulgate, the preposition “*in*” before “*hominibus*” is omitted; yet, in several of the ancient Latin manuscripts, which are entitled to very high respect, the preposition is retained, as it is in the Greek manuscripts. Thus the Codex Bezae has “*in hominibus*” in the text, as well as “*ἐν ἀνθρώποις*” in the Greek. The same reading is found in the Codex S. Germanensis, quoted by Sabatier; in the Codex Forojulienensis, quoted by Blanchini; and the Codex Harleianus, quoted by Griesbach. St. Jerom also, as appears from Sabatier’s note to the passage, quotes in one instance, “*hominibus*,” with the preposition before it. The conclusion is, that the true reading is to insert the preposition, the weight

weight of authority being wholly on the side of its insertion.

The next and more important difficulty is, to ascertain, whether the text should contain "*εὐδοκία*" with the Greek, or "*εὐδοκίας*" with the Latin. Here the question is of a nicer kind, there being, in this instance, a much nearer approach to a balance of authorities. All the modern printed texts of the Vulgate, the most ancient Latin manuscripts, and, speaking generally, all the Latin fathers have "*bonæ voluntatis*," not "*bona voluntas*;" *εὐδοκίας* in the genitive is likewise the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Codex Bezae. On the other hand, in all the rest of the Greek manuscripts, not excepting the Codex Vaticanus, we find "*εὐδοκία*" in the nominative. *Εὐδοκία* likewise is quoted by Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, and almost all the other Greek writers, who have cited the passage. Origen especially, an evidence of the highest authority, has quoted the passage three times, with "*εὐδοκία*" in the nominative. The conclusion is, that "*εὐδοκία*" is the more ancient and the genuine reading. The very utmost that can be said in favour of "*εὐδοκίας*" is, that it was a very early alteration in some Greek manuscripts.

This

This also decides the punctuation of the text; the nominative Greek being established to be the true reading, the sense requires, that the commas should be after “Θεῶ,” and “εἰρήν,” and with this the common punctuation accords. Thus the genuine reading of this most important text clearly is,

IN THE GREEK,

“ Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῶ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.”

IN THE LATIN,

“ *Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax, in hominibus* (or rather, *apud homines*) *bona voluntas.*”

XVII. 3. Such then is the number and importance of the various readings; the next enquiry is, *whether they affect the authenticity of the sacred writings?* Far from affording an argument against it, they depose in its favour. Considering the distance of time, and the fortunes and fates of the languages, in which the Old and New Testament were written, nothing but a miracle could have made the state of the text different from what it is. If the various readings did not exist, if they were fewer in number, if they were different in their nature from what they are, the infidel would urge this as an argument against the authenticity of the text, and would call on the Christian for proof of the miracle, to which the sacred text owed its wonderful integrity, in defiance of the universal and unvarying effects

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of time on every other text. As it is, the Christian has no such argument to answer; and whatever may be the state of the text, no argument can be drawn from it, against his faith. Be the text as faulty as it can be represented, every text contains the same laws, the same miracles, the same prophecies, the same chain of history, the same doctrine: every text equally shews, that the law came before the Gospel, the prophets before the Messiah, that the Redeemer was expected, came, taught, suffered, and died; that he established his Church, sent her the Comforter, and promised to preserve her in spirit and truth, to the end of time. Instead of discussing with the infidel the number of the various readings of the sacred text, or the consequences deducible from them, let him be called upon to say, whether, in the whole system of Christian history, Christian doctrine, or Christian morals, contained in the Scriptures, there be a single article necessary or profitable to be known, to be believed, or to be practised, which the text does not explicitly and unequivocally contain, or that is found in one text, and is not found in another. Till this be shewn, Christianity itself is not concerned in the various readings of the Scripture: the state of the text may be a subject of sacred literature, but will rather be a literary, than a religious, enquiry.

But



But if, even in the degree admitted, the text be imperfect, it may be asked, what becomes of the generally received opinion of its inspiration. To this it may be shortly replied, that the supposed imperfection does not affect the text, so far as it is the Christian's rule of faith, or the rule of his conduct, or so far as it contains the history of his Redeemer.

It does not therefore prove, that the text was not divinely inspired; it proves only, that, as to individual words, it was not miraculously preserved. But to dwell for some time on this important topic, without making it the subject of a regular discussion,—and premising, that the inspiration here asserted for the sacred penmen (without denying it to them in a higher degree) is that interposition only of the Holy Spirit, which may be supposed to have moved them to write what the Gospel contains of knowledge necessary or profitable to salvation; and, when writing it, to have preserved them from error; it may be observed, that as the natural powers of man could not lead to the discovery of the sublime truths of Christianity, there seems some ground to conclude, that his natural powers were not sufficient to record these truths with accuracy; and that, when the salvation of generations for ages was, by the will of Providence, made to depend on the belief of certain facts, and the practice of certain duties, there seems ground to infer, that Providence would exempt, even from a possibility of error, the record of that saving knowledge. It is said, that the truths

of Christianity though most beautiful and sublime are simple and few; and, might, therefore, easily be remembered and committed to writing. But this must be understood with some qualification. Christianity does not wholly rest on its doctrine; it is intimately connected with many other circumstances, particularly the character of the Divine Teacher. Is it not probable, that, on the numberless actions and discourses recorded of our Saviour, the fishermen, the tent-maker, or his companion, if left to themselves, would have recorded something so incongruous, as would have thrown a suspicion on the whole character of Christ, and made the whole of his doctrines questionable? In this point of view, the writing appears to be above the natural powers of the writer, and to prove the existence of inspiration.

It may also be proper to bring to recollection the commission given by Christ to his Apostles, to preach and teach the Gospel to all the nations of the earth; and his promises, that the Spirit of truth, the Teacher, the Paraclete, should abide with them, should dwell in them, and be in them, should teach them all truth, should testify of Christ through them, should convince the world through them, and should bring to their remembrance whatsoever he had said to them. Now, did not this commission extend to preaching and teaching by writing, as much as to preaching and teaching by word of mouth? Was the Spirit of truth to influence their

their writing less than their discourse?—To this must be added, the effusion of the Holy Spirit at the day of Pentecost.

Christ assured his Apostles, that, when they should be delivered up, it should be given them, what they should speak. He adds, “It is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father, which speaks in you.” Now, is it probable, that inspiration should be promised them in circumstances, when they were rather advocates for themselves, than ministers of the word of God, and that it should be denied them, when, in the execution of their divine commission, they preached the new covenant, the life, the death, the resurrection of Christ, in sounds that were to go forth into all the earth, in words that were to be heard in the ends of the world? Ps. xix. 4.

Accordingly we find, that the Apostles speak of themselves as inspired. St. Peter says of them in general, 1 Ep. i. 12. “That they preached the Gospel, which the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, which things the angels desire to look into.” St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 13. says, “We speak not in the words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.” Citations might be multiplied; but there are two texts which deserve particular attention. St. Peter in the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of his second Epistle, mentioning St. Paul’s

Paul's Epistles, says of them, "There are some things  
 " hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned  
 " and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures,  
 " unto their own destruction." The other passage is, the  
 celebrated verse in St. Paul's second Epistle to Timothy,  
 iii. 16. The Vulgate translation of it is, "*Omnis Scrip-*  
*tura, divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum, ad arguen-*  
*dum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in justitia.*" Now,  
 it should be observed, that the word Scripture, standing  
 singly, without any thing to direct its import, is always  
 used in the New Testament to denote the Old, as in Matt.  
 xxii. 29. John v. 39. x. 35. It certainly denotes the Old  
 Testament, in the passage cited from St. Paul: this is clear,  
 not only from its general import, but from its connection  
 with the verse immediately preceding, where St. Paul ob-  
 serves to Timothy, "that from a child he had known the  
 " holy Scriptures." The passage, therefore, refers to the  
 Jewish Scriptures. The word "*est*" is added from the  
 Greek; and, upon that account, objections have been  
 made to the insertion of it in the Vulgate. At all events,  
 though it be not expressed, the idiom of the language re-  
 quires that it should be understood in some part of the text;  
 and it must necessarily be understood to apply both the  
 words "*inspirata*" and "*utilis*," or to the word "*utilis*"  
 only. If it be applied to both, it amounts to an express  
 assertion of the Apostle, that the Scripture is both divine-  
 ly inspired and useful for the purposes he mentions: if it

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be applied to the "*utilis*" only, then the assertive part of the sentence is confined to the "*utilis*," and the "*divinitus inspirata*" is an epithet. Thus considered, it is only descriptive: but, in either mode of construction, the sentence equally predicates of the Old Testament, that it was divinely inspired. Supposing a dispute to arise in future times, on the late form of the Venetian government, a sentence in a writer of the present times expressing, that the form of the government of Venice was aristocratic and oppressive, and a sentence expressing, that the aristocratic form of the government of Venice was oppressive, would shew, that in the writer's opinion, the form of the government of Venice was aristocratic: each sentence would equally predicate the author's opinion. Thus then we have the clear testimony of St. Peter, that the Epistles of St. Paul are on a level with the Old Testament, and form a part of those writings which he calls the Scriptures, or, as we term, the Bible: "*those*," he says, "*that are unlearned and unstable, wrest his Epistles, as they do all the other Scripture.*" [2 Peter iii. 16.]

If we consult tradition, we shall find, that whatever disagreement has unfortunately prevailed among Christians in other respects, it may perhaps be asserted, that it was not till the latest doctrines gained ground, and even not till the extreme consequences of those doctrines were avowed, that  
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the inspiration of the Scriptures was wholly and unqualifiedly denied. It is true, that there was some difference of opinion with respect to the extent and mode of inspiration. Some understood, that it extended both to ideas and to words: this appears to have been the prevailing opinion, till the ninth century, when Agobardus, archbishop of Lyons, maintained that it was confined to ideas. In this he was followed by Luther, Beza, and Salmasius: but all agreed, that inspiration extended to all expressions and words which were important. Thus far the difference has been thought immaterial. Some, as in our days Bishop Warburton, Bishop Law, and Dr. Doddridge, explained inspiration, as if, in the strict sense of the word, it extended to particular cases only; but they allowed, that the sacred penmen had every where the divine assistance, so far as to be prevented from material error. This, in substance, is admitting the general doctrine of inspiration. The Arminians denied inspiration to the historical parts of the Scriptures: some of them were led into this error by confounding revelation and inspiration, which are very different: and most of them refused inspiration to no part of the Scripture, that could be important to faith, morals, or knowledge. To deny it absolutely, and thereby to reduce the sacred writings to common history, was, with a few exceptions, reserved to our times. If there be a doctrine to which the "*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus,*" is applicable, it is the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testament.

But,

But, to return to the subject of this enquiry: to give the text in its utmost purity, has been the object of the editions and publications we have mentioned, and of many others. An Englishman must view with pleasure the useful and magnificent exertions of his countrymen in this respect. Bishop Walton's Polyglot ranks first in that noble and costly class of publications; foreign countries can shew nothing equal to Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Bible, or similar either to Dr. Woide's edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, or Dr. Kipling's edition of the Codex Bezae: and, in the whole republic of letters, nothing is now so impatiently expected, as the completion of Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint.

Yet, useful and magnificent as these exertions have been, an edition of the New Testament has lately appeared in this country, which, in one point of view, eclipses them all. It has been our lot to be witnesses of the most tremendous revolution that Christian Europe has known: a new race of enemies to the Christian religion has arisen, and, from Rome to Hungary, has shaken every throne, and struck at every altar. One of their first enormities was, the murder of a large proportion of their clergy, and the banishment of almost the whole of the remaining part. Some thousands of those respectable exiles found refuge in England. A private subscription of 33775*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* was immediately

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ately made for them. When it was exhausted, a second was collected, under the auspices of his Majesty, and produced 41304l. 12s. 6d $\frac{1}{2}$ . Nor is it too much to say, that the beneficence of individuals, whose charities on this occasion were known to God alone, raised for the sufferers a sum much exceeding the amount of the larger of the two subscriptions. When, at length, the wants of the sufferers exceeded the measure of private charity, Government took them under its protection; and, though engaged in a war, exceeding all former wars in expence, appropriated, with the approbation of the whole kingdom, a monthly allowance of about 8000l. for their support; an instance of splendid munificence and systematic liberality, of which the annals of the world do not furnish another example. The management of the contributions was entrusted to a committee, of whom Mr. Wilmot, then one of the members of Parliament for the city of Coventry, was president: on him the burthen of the trust almost wholly fell; and his humanity, judgment, and perseverance in the discharge of it, did honour to himself and his country.

It should be observed, that the contributions we have mentioned are exclusive of those which were granted for the relief of the Lay Emigrants.

So



So suddenly had the unhappy sufferers been driven from their country, that few had brought with them any of those books of religion or devotion, which their clerical character and habits of prayer had made the companions of their past life, and which were to become almost the chief comfort of their future years. To relieve them from this misfortune, the University of Oxford, at her sole expence, printed for them, at the Clarendon Press, two thousand copies of the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament, from an edition of Barbou; but this number not being deemed sufficient to satisfy their demand, two thousand more copies were added, at the expence of the Marquis of Buckingham. Few will forget the piety, the blameless demeanor, the long patient suffering of these respectable men. Thrown on a sudden into a foreign country, differing from theirs in religion, language, manners, and habits, the uniform tenor of their pious and unoffending lives procured them universal respect, and good will. The country that received them has been favoured. In the midst of the public and private calamity, which almost every other nation has experienced, Providence has crowned *her* with glory and honour; peace has dwelt in her palaces, plenty within her walls; every climate has been tributary to her commerce, every sea has been witness of her victories.

To proceed: the German literati have also distinguished themselves by their Biblical labours. Numberless are the works replete with learning and criticism, which they have produced, on every subject of Biblical literature; but it is greatly to be lamented, that they have not always carried into their researches, that *fear, which is the beginning of wisdom*, and that moderation and respect, with which holy subjects, and particularly the word of God, should be treated. From its being proved, that the sacred text is not free from imperfection, it does not follow, that it is generally corrupt: and the notion of the absolute integrity of the text may be an ill founded prejudice, though the text, at the same time, may be generally pure. But it is the nature of man to rush from one extreme to another. A particular opinion for a time prevails universally. It is believed to be so well founded, and to be of so much importance, as to make it thought a folly, and even a crime, to call it in question. At length it appears open to objection; objections are made to it; they are found to be unanswerable. Then, without examining whether the opinion be erroneous in the whole, or only in a degree, an absolute and unqualified anathema is pronounced upon it, and adventurers in literature from that time never think they are so much in the right, as when they are furthest removed from what a few years before they themselves would have been the first to deify. Thus they change one extreme of error for another, and  
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get as much beyond, as till then they had been behind, that happy medium, where truth and wisdom lie. Thus, at one period of history, we read with astonishment of the bigotry and barbarism, that mutilated the statutes, and burned or proscribed the writings, of Greece and Rome. Taste and science arrive; we welcome them: but classical enthusiasm supervenes; and then in a few years we read with equal surprise, and at least with equal disgust, of a Christian and a Cardinal, who adjures the Venetians "*per Deos immortales*" and the "*Deam Lauretanam*;" of the Stoic Lipsius, who latinises Providence into *Fatum*; and of a party of still more classical fanatics, who renew the sacrifices of Paganism in their bacchanals. Similar to this has been the abuse of sacred criticism. The superstitious belief of the absolute integrity of the sacred text was discarded, from its being shewn to contain some errors, to have some imperfections. Here the inference should have rested. But from this time, on the continent particularly, sacred criticism has frequently run wild. Every error of every copyist has sometimes been called a mistake; every mistake has been produced as a various reading; every various reading has been thought a discovery; every such discovery has been held out as important; conjecture has been cherished, and thus, more liberty has been taken with the sacred writings than a sober critic would use in regard to the writings of Horace or Ovid.

Of this propensity to adopt extreme opinions, the country we are speaking of has lately produced some singular examples; and of these (it is hoped the digression will be excused) the denial of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, is not the least remarkable. From the united experience of the wisdom of all ages, certain canons of criticism have been laid down, which are admitted by all men of sense and knowledge. One of these is, that a combination of circumstances *may* attend a work, which places its authenticity beyond argument, and that such a combination of circumstances *does* in fact attend some writings of antiquity. This being allowed, let the writers alluded to be desired to point out any one of those works, the authenticity of which is universally allowed, and to shew what argument can be urged for its authenticity, which cannot be urged for the authenticity of the Pentateuch: and, if an objection may be made to the authenticity of the Pentateuch, whether an objection of at least equal force may not be made to the work, whose authenticity they admit. They probably allow the authenticity of the Koran; yet nothing can be said for the authenticity of the Koran, that cannot be said equally for the authenticity of the Pentateuch. But, besides these general arguments, there are particular proofs of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, which can be produced for no other work. The first is, the religious veneration of the Jews themselves for it. They considered it far other than a mere history, or a work of literature. In every age, in every



every revolution of their fortune, they held it to be the very word of God. It was read in their temple, expounded in their synagogues; they made it their daily and nightly meditation; they thought it a sacrilege to alter a word of it; and, when called upon, they were ready to die for its integrity. A second argument, peculiar to the authenticity of the Pentateuch, arises from what we know of the scrupulous, not to say superstitious, reverence, which the Jews have both for its preservation and integrity; from what we know of their Massora, of their vowel points, of their fanciful ceremonial in transcribing the synagogic rolls. Nothing of the kind was ever practised or thought of in respect of any profane author. A third argument is in the internal evidence, which the sacred writings themselves contain, of their authenticity. Christ, his Apostles, and Evangelists, every where recognize the books of Moses: at an earlier period they are recognized by Esdras: they are expressed in the genuine language of the Jews; they were therefore written before the captivity: they are acknowledged by the Samaritans; they were therefore written before the division of Israel and Judah: this leads to the Judges and Joshua, and the Judges and Joshua refer to them. Why did not Josephus advert to other books\*? Why did the Seventy translate

\* "We have twenty-two books," says that author, which are justly styled divine. In what veneration we hold them, appears from this fact,  
"that

translate the books we have, and no other? To this may be added, that the Pentateuch was never imputed to any other author than Moses; and presumptions in favour of its authenticity from the simplicity of its style; from the expressions, which at the distance of Solomon's reign became antiquated; from the Egyptian words used by Moses in consequence of his being educated in Egypt, expressed by Joshua, as a native Jew, in pure Hebrew; the nature of the narrative:—but to conclude, let all the writings of all the writers of antiquity be numbered up, not one of them can be mentioned, whose authenticity can be supported by so much proof, or is liable to such little objection. The paradoxes of Father Hardouin have been justly derided; it is, at least, as easy to confute those of which we have been speaking. In the mean time, let it not be thought that this is the general language of the German Literati: many of them express the greatest concern for the laxity of criticism, in which some of their countrymen have indulged themselves on these subjects. “The improved state of religion and learn-

“that in the course of so many ages, no person has dared to add to them, to take from them, or to alter them. On the contrary, it is the innate belief of every Jew, that they are the precepts of God himself, that he should constantly adhere to them, and willingly, if it should be necessary, suffer death for them: a principle implanted in him at the moment of his birth, *καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὸν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ Θεοῦ δόγματα, καὶ τοῦτοις ἡμίνην, καὶ ἰσχυρὰν, ἢ θείαν, διέσσειν ἡδίας.*” Adv. App. L 8.

ing among Protestants," (says Schmidius, the Rector of the University of Wirtembergh, in his *Historia Antiqua et Vindicatio Canonis*, Lips. 1775, Prol. C. I. §. x. xix.) "has  
 " not prevented many adversaries of great erudition and ingenuity, from starting up, and availing themselves of  
 " some inconsiderate and injudicious positions of their predecessors, to attack the doctrines and authenticity of the  
 " sacred writings. They find the mysteries, the miracles,  
 " and the early history of the Jews, a troublesome speculation, and therefore pronounce them incredible. On  
 " this ground, they have affected to call in question the  
 " historical certainty and antiquity of the books of the Old  
 " Testament; and to consider the divine mysteries and early  
 " history of the Jews, as fables on a level with those in the  
 " mythology of the general nations of the earth. At length  
 " they have proceeded so far as to deny all revelation, and  
 " to refer every thing to philosophy, and the religion of  
 " nature. In judging of the code of the New Testament,  
 " they refuse to admit the truth and authority of the Church.  
 " To establish their private opinions, they set on foot new  
 " modes of argument. They quarrel with our code of the  
 " New Testament, and exert all their knowledge of history,  
 " and all their skill in criticism, to ruin, or at least  
 " to weaken; the authority of the sacred writings. To  
 " illustrate their hypotheses, they appear to support themselves by history: but the truth is, that their religious

“ opinions on the subject are unsound. All their argu-  
 “ ments tend to establish this position, that revealed reli-  
 “ gion is a game played by the clergy, and that all of it,  
 “ but its morality, should be rejected. Whatever may be  
 “ their intention, it is demonstrable, that all they have done  
 “ hitherto, is to pervert ecclesiastical history, and to blind  
 “ the ignorant. Most wisely do the Roman and Protestant  
 “ Churches retain the code of the New Testament. The  
 “ uninterrupted piety of seventeen centuries has preserved  
 “ and revered it, and divine Providence has kept it en-  
 “ tire, and free from corruption, down to our times. *Recte*  
 “ *igitur Romana et Protestantium ecclesia codicem Novi Testa-*  
 “ *menti retinet, quem constans XVII seculorum pietas dili-*  
 “ *genter servavit, et coluit; divinaque Providentia, integrum,*  
 “ *et ab interpolationibus liberum, usque ad nostra tempora, pro-*  
 “ *pagavit.*”

In this, therefore, as in every other instance, where the  
 word of God is concerned, the greatest moderation should  
 be used; and care should be taken, that the assertions made,  
 are expressed accurately, and in such terms as prevent im-  
 proper conclusions being drawn from them. Where the  
 number of the various readings is mentioned before per-  
 sons, to whom the subject is new, or in any work likely  
 to have a general circulation, it should be added, that their  
 importance is rather of a literary than a religious kind;  
 and



and that, whether considered collectively or individually, they do not affect the genuineness of the text, or the substance of its history or doctrine. The improvements, which proposed alterations are thought to make, should not be exaggerated; it should be remarked, that alterations of that description are confessedly few; and that none of them affect the Gospel as a history, as a rule of faith, or as a body of morality. Conjectural emendations should almost always be resisted. If there ever were a person, by his learning qualified, and by the boldness of his criticism disposed, to alter from conjecture only, it was Wetstein; and yet he thus expresses himself: "*Licet plerasque omnes quas vidi, et in V. L. exposui, conjecturas doctas et ingeniosas existimem, neque proinde studium cujusquam vituperem; ingenue tamen fateor ex omnibus illis vix unam aut alteram sese mihi probari utcunque potuisse.*" Thus guarded and restrained, there is no doubt, that verbal criticism on the sacred text may be made useful to religion.

Still, while it is contended, that the multitude of various readings does not affect the authority or authenticity of the Scripture, and while the abuse of the criticism of the sacred text is deprecated, it will be falling into the opposite extreme, to suppose, that the various readings are of such little moment, as to make the labour bestowed in col-

lecting them, and weighing their comparative merit, an useless and vain employment. But here, unless a very extensive discussion of the subject is instituted, it must be confined to an appeal to persons acquainted with the nature and value of the editions of the classics. Such persons must immediately see, that on the one hand the various readings of the sacred text do not, in any respect, impeach its divine authority or authenticity; and that, on the other, those deserve highly of the Christian world, who, with due advantages of natural and acquired endowments, and with due attention and modesty, exert them, in collecting various readings, or in any other Biblical pursuit, that tends to advance the literary purity of the text.

How great is the space between the edition of Tacitus by Lipsius (to go back no further), and the edition of the same author by Brotier? Yet in each the history is the same. Each informs the reader of the dark policy of Tiberius, of the arts of Sejanus, of the imbecillity of Claudius, the cruelty of Nero, the grandeur of Otho in his last moments: from each the reader learns, that, by the election of Vitellius in Germany, the fatal secret of the empire was disclosed, that an emperor might be chosen out of Rome. Yet surely the scholar reads all this with infinitely less pleasure in Lipsius than in Brotier. Such being the comparative measure of a perfect and imperfect edition,

edition, and the connection between the sacred writings and sacred literature being so great, every person, to whom the sacred writings are dear, must wish them edited in the most perfect manner. It would reflect disgrace on the learned of the Christian world, that any one Pagan author should be published in a more perfect manner than the word of God.

## XVIII.

It remains to give SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHORS, OF WHOSE LABOURS THE WRITER HAS AVAILED HIMSELF IN THIS COMPILATION. He must first mention *Michaelis*, whose *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, translated by the Rev. *Herbert Marsh*, was of the greatest service to him in every part of his labours. Judgment, extent of learning, and moderation, except where *Wetstein* is spoken of, are discernible in the original; equal judgment, learning, and moderation, are discernible in the copious notes added in the translation. It is to be wished, that the public were in possession of a good account of the literary life of *Michaelis*; his translator, perhaps, will confer that additional favour on them. After *Michaelis* must be mentioned the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of *Father Le Long*, the Oratorian, and librarian of the house of that Order, in the street of St. Honoré at Paris. The best edition  
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of it was published at Halle, in six volumes 4to, 1778—1790, by Masch. The editor has inserted in it an account of Le Long's life and writings, and several dissertations of his own, on various subjects of Biblical literature. The *Titres Primitifs* of *Fabrice* must also be mentioned; a work replete with learning. It inclines to the old opinions; the author shews himself a zealous and able advocate for them; and, in every part of his work, studiously endeavours to excite the warmest sentiments of religious respect for the sacred writings, and every topic of sacred literature connected with them. But both *Fabrice* and *Masch* appear to carry their notions of the integrity of the text to an extreme, and to be unjust to the merit of Dr. Kennicott's labours. The author must also mention his obligations to the writings of *Father Simon*, whose Biblical erudition was far beyond that of his age. In some respects, he was the first adventurer in that career of learning; his progress in it was surprising: but in certain instances his bold opinions and want of exactness subjected him to reproach. There scarcely is a description of Christians, whom, attacking their favourite opinions, he did not make his enemy. The Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Thomists, the Jansenists, the Calvinists, the Lutherans, the Oratorians, (to whom he once belonged, and whom he quitted, saying,

*Alterius ne sis qui tuus esse possis.*)

Even Bossuet and Le Clerc, who agreed in nothing else,  
united



united against Simon. But it is a justice due to him, that those who are inclined to accuse him of Socinianism, should peruse his apologies, before they make the charge. A general mention must also be made in this place, of *Calmet's Dissertations*, replete with various and extensive learning.

The writer must also add, that he has been honoured by Mr. *Marsb.* with some highly valuable communications by letter, and with similar communications from the noble Prelate, whose learning and talents illustrate the see of Rochester. He hopes he shall not be thought vain in mention these favours, as it would be ingratitude in him not to feel them. His obligations to Dr. *Winstanley*, the Principal of Alban Hall, and Camden Professor of History, at Oxford, for innumerable services rendered him, in the course of the publication, he is as incapable of forgetting as he is of returning.

After this profession of general obligations, the aids to which he has more particularly had recourse must be acknowledged. For his general view of the Hebrew language, the writer was principally indebted to *Walton's Prolegomena, Simonis Introductio Grammatico-Critica in Linguam Hebraam*, and to *Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa*. For his account of the Hellenistic language, he was much indebted to *Simonis Introductio Grammatico-Critica in Linguam Græcam*, and to  
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some excellent observations of Dr. Campbell, in the *Discourses prefixed to his translation of the Gospels*. In his account of the Septuagint he availed himself of *Calmet's Dissertations*, of Dr. Owen's *Historical and Critical Account of the Septuagint Version*, and Dr. Hody's *Treatises*. In speaking of the style of the New Testament, great use was made by him of the fourth of the *Preliminary Essays* prefixed by Dr. Macknight, to his *Literal Translation of the Apostolical Epistles*. What he has said on the supposed currency of Rabbinical doctrines in Judæa, at the time of the birth of Christ, occurred from some expressions in *Michaelis*, and the mass of Rabbinical matter in *Wetstein's Notes*. Some parts of Dr. Harwood's *Introduction to the New Testament* led him to what he has said on Herod's politics, on the Pharisees, Sadducees, Scribes, Samaritans, and the Geography of Asia. No work gives a better account of the customs and usages of the Greeks and Latins, as they are alluded to in the New Testament: his edition of the New Testament is particularly useful, by pointing out the classical turns and references of many of the expressions. On all these subjects the writer also availed himself of *Lewis's Hebrew Antiquities*. What is written on the celebrated prophecy of the *Shilo* was committed to paper, after considering what has been said on that subject by *Calmet*, Bishop *Newton*, and *Monf. Huet*, the most learned Bishop of Avanches, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, a work written in the purest

purest Latinity, and diverging into an amazing range of learning, but wandering sometimes so far from the subject, as to justify the application, which has been made to it, of the verse in Terence,

*Dii te perdant cum istâ tuâ demonstratione.*

In the account given of the geography of Palestine, and its political state at the time of the birth of Christ, *Calmet*, *Relandus*, and *D'Anville* were consulted, and particular assistance received from *Ernesti's Institutio*. The outlines of the geography of Palestine appear to be ascertained with tolerable accuracy; but if credit be given to what Houbigant says, in a letter written by him to L'Advocat, and published by L'Advocat at the end of his ingenious, but perhaps fanciful, *translation of the Psalm, Exurgat Deus*, every thing respecting the interior parts of it is in uncertainty and confusion. What is offered on the Biblical Literature of the middle ages, is the result of some miscellaneous reading on that subject, in the Lives of the Saints of those ages in the Roman Catholic calendar, particularly those written by Mr. *Alban Butler*, in his *Lives of the Saints*, "a work of merit," says Mr. Gibbon (Vol. IV. ch. xlv. note 67.): "the sense and learning belong to the author, his prejudices are those of his profession." As it is known what prejudice signifies in Mr. Gibbon's vocabulary, Mr. Alban Butler's relations accept the character. For what is

said of the industry of the monks, in copying Hebrew manuscripts, Dr. *Tychsen* is cited as an authority: to some parts of *Wetstein's Prolegomena*, a reference in this place might also have been made. In the section respecting the Massora and the vowel points, the writer has mentioned the authors whom he consulted on those subjects. In his account of the Jews, he followed *Basnage*, the authors of *the Universal History*, and *David Ganz's Tsemah David*, a meagre chronicle, but the best history written by a Jew, since the time of *Josephus*. In this section the writer has copied some passages from Mr. *Levy's Succinct Account of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Jews*. In every part of his account of the editions of the Old or New Testament, he received great assistance from Mr. *Bowyer's Origin of Printing*.

The nature of the work made it necessary to compress into a small compass what occurred to him, in favour of that persecuted and injured body of men, the Jews. On many accounts their general character entitles them to a high degree of esteem. Their charities to the poor of their own communion are immense; their care to adjust their differences in civil concerns amicably among themselves, is edifying: banks and bills of exchange, the two greatest supports of commerce, are of their invention. And let it not be forgotten, that if, on any account, they are justly censurable,



furable, our unworthy treatment of them may have forced them into the very acts we censure.

To what the writer has said on the authenticity of the Old Testament, he was chiefly led by *Calmet*, *Huet*, an excellent *Discourse* of Mr. *Marsh* on the authenticity of the five Books of *Moses*, and Mr. *Hooke's Principia Religionis Naturalis et Revelata* a work greatly admired on the Continent, for its elegance, precision, and solidity, and which deserves to be printed in England. In writing it, Mr. *Hooke* availed himself much of the labours of English divines, in support of natural and revealed religion, particularly that profound and useful book, *Bishop Butler's Analogy*.

The short view of the nature of the works written by the Jews against the Christian religion, was taken from a cursory perusal of *Wagenfeil's Tela ignea Satanae* referred to in the body of the Work. Dr. *Kennicott's Dissertatio Generalis*, his *Dissertations on the state of the Hebrew Text*, and the publications of *De Rossi*, furnished the writer with most of what he has said on the manuscripts and printed editions of the Hebrew Bible; and he received some assistance on this subject from *Walchius's Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta*. What he has said on the Greek manuscripts, and printed editions, and the oriental versions, is chiefly compiled from *Simon*, *Le Long*,

*Calmet, Michaelis*, his excellent Translator, and the *Prolegomena* of *Walton, Mill, Wetstein*, and *Griesbach*.

In framing his account of the Antehieronyman versions, besides the writers mentioned in that part of his work, he had the advantage of the information so ably collected, and so agreeably conveyed, by *Monf. Huet*, in his learned and entertaining Dialogues *De claris Interpretibus*, and *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi*. They were also of use to him in every other part of his work, which treats of the versions either of the Old or New Testament.

He is sensible, that his account of the English versions is very short; but he begs leave to observe, that, as these versions throw no light on the state of the text, the mention of them did not enter into the plan of his work, and nothing therefore called for a fuller account of them.

In the parts of it, in which a short chronological account is attempted to be given of the history of the Jews, from their return from captivity to the birth of Christ, the writer was guided by *Bossuet's Discourse on Universal History*, one of the noblest efforts of the human mind.

What is said on the religious credence and opinions of the Greek and Oriental Christians, is taken from *Father Simon*

*Simon and Smith's Account of the Greek Church*, from the more modern account of it by Dr. King, *Goar's Euchologion Græcum*, and the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, particularly the Letters written by Father Sicard, to whom Mr. Gibbon's wish, respecting Volney, "that he might travel all over the world," might have been applied with greater reason. In this article use was also made of the three following treatises, in the collections of Bollandus, *Tractatus Preliminaris Jo. Baptiste Sollerii ad Tom. V. Junii, de Patriarchis Alexandrinis: Tractatus Historico-Chronologicus de Patriarchis Antiochenis: Gulielmi Cuperi ad Tom. I. Aug. Tractatus Preliminaris de Patriarchis Constantinopolitanis ab initio istius Cathedræ ad ætatem usque nostram*. The title of Bollandus's Collection is, *Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a Catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*. It evidently deserves to be more known in England, and to find a place in most of her great public libraries. The plan of this vast work was originally conceived by Father Rosweide, a Jesuit. It was first carried into execution by Father Bollandus, of the same society. The two first volumes, comprising the Lives of the Saints of the month of January, were published in 1643. It was continued by different religious of the same society, through 50 volumes folio, to the volume which extends to and includes the Saints celebrated by the Church of Rome on the seventh day of October. The Lives of the Saints, and the various memorials respecting them, of which  
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the body of the work is composed, form an immense mass of historical information. It may be said to relate chiefly to ecclesiastical history: but when the intimate connection between civil and sacred history is considered, this will not detract from its estimation, even with those whose attention is directed to civil history. All the writers engaged in this work are allowed to have possessed deep and extensive learning. Father Papebroch, who conducted it for 42 years, is considered to have been a writer of the first strength; one of those superior men, who exist but once in a century; or, as Scaliger called them, *homines centenarii*. The Spanish Inquisition, to its eternal disgrace, condemned the volumes which contained the months of March, April, and May, as erroneous, offensive to pious ears, heretical, and injurious to the Holy See, the Dominicans and Carmes. Among other charges against the publishers of these volumes, it was alledged, that they called in question the descent of St. Dominic from the noble family of the Guzmans, and the descent of the Carmes from Elias. It is scarcely worth mentioning, that the sentence was revoked in 1718. The principal dissertations interspersed in the work have been published together, in three volumes folio, at Venice, 1749—1751, under the title, *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticæ Antiquitatis, et sacræ et profanæ Eruditionis, in quo Dissertationes, Tractatus, Diatribæ præliminares, aliæque præstantia Monumenta, quæ a Jo. Bollandi ceterisque Societatis Jesu Hagiologis Antwerpiensibus,*



*piensibus, in omnibus fere de Actis Sanctorum Voluminibus conscripta, sparsim occurrunt, conjunctim exhibentur.* Some of the late society, with the assistance, it is said, of two Benedictine monks, were employed in the work, in the Abbey of Tongerlo, near Antwerp, when the enemies of all that is sacred arrived there under the command of Pichegru. The last of the three treatises referred to contains some particulars of the famous Cyrillus Lucaris. Several curious facts respecting the hierarchy of the Greek Church in Russia and Turkey appear in Hofmann's Preface to the Catechism of the Greek Church, published by Mogila, the Metropolitan of Kiow, with the approbation of three Russian Bishops, his suffragans. It was afterwards approved with great solemnity by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; by the Bishops of Ancyra, Larissa, Chalcedon, Adrianople, Berœa, Rhodes, Methymna, Lacedemon, and Chio; and by several of the chief officers of the Greek Church in Constantinople. An edition of it in the Greek, Latin, and German languages was published at Wratiflaw, in octavo, in 1751. An ordinance of Peter the Great, of the Patriarchs of Moscovy, and the perpetual Synod, declared it to express the religious credence of the Russian Church; and that the doctrine of it should be universally followed and taught. In what is said on the inspiration of the Holy Writings, the author principally considered what has been collected on that subject by Dr.

Doddridge

*Doddridge* and *Calmet* he wished to see the treatise written on it by *Jacquelot*, the powerful antagonist of *Bayle*: but he could not procure that treatise. Both Catholics and Protestants speak of it in high terms of commendation.

*With these helps* the writer framed the compilation, which (a private edition of it having been before distributed among his friends) is now presented to the public eye. In committing it to paper, it was not his aim to edify others: it was written solely for his own instruction, in the bits and scraps of time, which a very laborious discharge of the unceasing duties of a very laborious profession left at his command; and which he found it a greater relaxation to employ in that manner than in any other.



FINIS.